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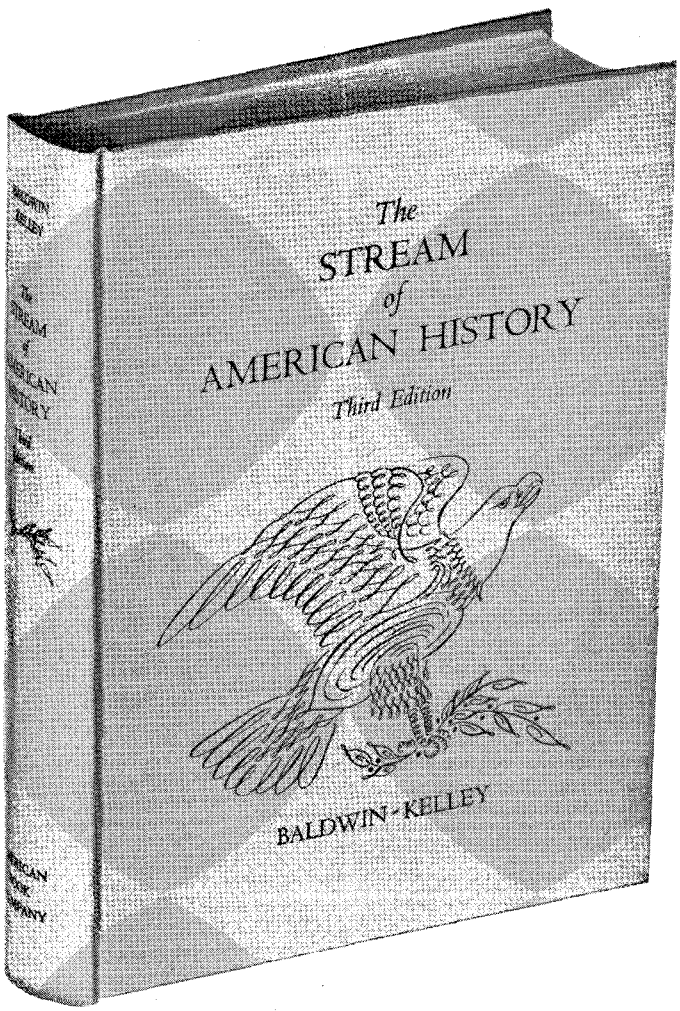
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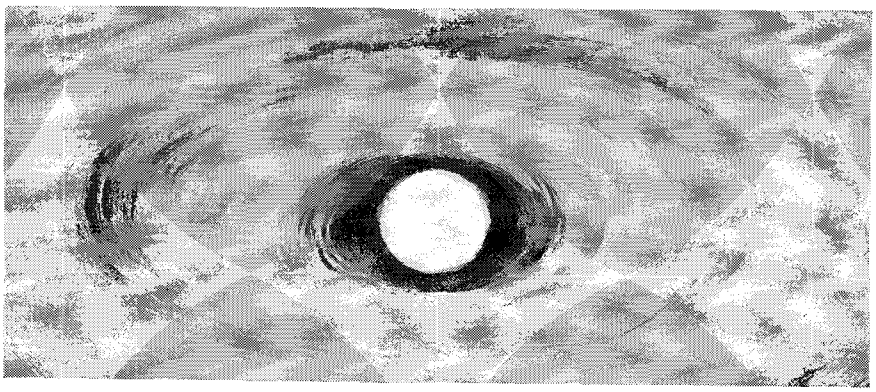
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The Role of the Horse in Chinese History

H. G. CREEL*

THE term "chivalry" has come to stand for so much that is so important in so many aspects of European history, that we may tend to forget that its original sense was "cavalry." The connotations with which the word "chivalry" has become charged underline the fact that the horse, as a cavalry mount, has been by no means a negligible factor. Undoubtedly many of the same phenomena would have occurred in somewhat different form, but European history would not have been entirely the same if the cavalry horse had not been invented.

We may not be accustomed to thinking of the cavalry horse as an invention. But it was one, and not the simplest: like most important inventions it was a combination and culmination of a number of other inventions. It appears to have first been developed in Western Asia or Southeastern Europe. Spreading early to various parts of Europe it became of some importance

*Mr. Creel is Martin A. Ryerson Distinguished Service Professor of Chinese History at the University of Chicago. This paper is one portion of a study, which has been in progress for some years, of contacts between China and the West, with special reference to influence on political institutions. For another aspect of this study, see H. G. Creel, "The Beginnings of Bureaucracy in China: The Origin of the *Hsien*," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIII (Feb. 1964), 155–84.

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there. But the cavalry horse had its most extensive and most deadly development among the nomadic peoples of Asia. Its impact was felt by China somewhat later than by Europe, but its influence upon many aspects of Chinese history has been tremendous. For some two thousand years China's foreign relations, military policy, economic well-being, and indeed its very existence as an independent state were importantly conditioned by the horse.

The steppes of Central Asia and Southeastern Europe are the regions in which much of the history of the cavalry horse unfolded. But these arid lands have not always been peopled by fierce, horse-riding, nomadic warriors. Their earliest known inhabitants seem to have been men who were not even pastoral, but at least chiefly agricultural; such agriculture must have been carried on in particularly favorable areas, such as oases. The rearing of domestic animals appears to have been a subsequent development.[1] Both Karl Jettmar and James F. Downs conclude that the technique of the domestication of the horse was developed in the Near East and spread eastward through Asia. If this is correct, it must have reached China quite early, for it appears likely that the horse was domesticated in eastern China in late Neolithic times.[2] But even after the horse was kept as a domestic animal, this did not mean that its keepers were at once riders, much less mounted warriors.

Downs distinguishes three phases in the employment of the horse for transportation. One (no doubt the earliest) is its use for traction, including the pulling of chariots. The second is the use of the horse as a "moving seat," ridden simply as a means of transportation. The third is the development of the horse into a charger of war.

The transition from the second to the third step is not so simple as it might seem. Downs, who speaks from an extensive practical experience with horses unusual in a scholar,[3] points out that training the horse for war is no easy matter. It is a highly temperamental "animal of 'flight' rather than 'fight.'" Yet it must be taught to "face loud noises, leap fences, charge into crowds, and gallop at man's command, often to its own destruction."

Furthermore, Downs argues, the development of really effective mounts for war required the breeding of horses larger than those found in the wild state. "The only wild breed of horses known in recent history, Przeval-

[1] Karl Jettmar, "Les Plus Anciennes Civilisations d'Éleveurs des Steppes d'Asie Centrale," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale,* I (No. 4, 1954), 760–83; James F. Downs, "The Origin and Spread of Riding in the Near East and Central Asia," *American Anthropologist,* LXIII (Dec. 1961), 1199; Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York, 1940), 157–63, 328.

[2] Downs, "Origin and Spread of Riding," 1201; Jettmar, "Éleveurs des Steppes," 775; Herrlee Glessner Creel, *Studies in Early Chinese Culture, First Series* (Baltimore, 1937), 189–90.

[3] Downs, "Origin and Spread of Riding," 1202, says: "The observations on the nature of the horse are drawn mainly from my own experience as an amateur and professional horseman in the show ring, hunt field, racing, and occasionally as a cowboy."

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sky's horse *(E. przewalskii poliakoff)* of the Central Asian Steppe, averages about 13 hands" (a hand equals four inches). Such a horse, he says, is so small that its value "in war or hunting would have been negligible." The modern domestic horse, averaging fifteen hands, is a product of selective breeding and feeding.[4]

In our information concerning the characteristics of the horses that were early used as cavalry mounts in East Asia, the factor of size is rarely mentioned.[5] But it is perfectly clear that horses preferred for war were greatly superior to ordinary horses in speed, agility, and stamina. It seems evident, then, that the successful use of cavalry in war required three things: the mastery of the technique of riding and using the paraphernalia of cavalry warfare; the technique of training horses for war; and the breeding of, or acquisition of, horses suitable for mounted warfare, which must possess qualities not found in the ordinary horse.

In China the horse, which may have been domesticated in late Neolithic times, was driven to chariots in the Shang (?1765–1123 B.C.) and Chou (1122–256 B.C.) periods. There seems to be no clear evidence that horses were ridden in China until very shortly before 300 B.C.[6] Two well-known books, which are commonly dated as having been written around this time, fail to mention riding in contexts where we would certainly expect such reference if riding had been at all common.[7] And a very clear account tells us

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Though there seem to be no specific statements in the early Chinese materials that horses used for cavalry mounts needed to be larger than other horses, there is much ground for inference that they were. Thus the proposal made in 146 B.C. that horses taller than thirteen hands, whose teeth were not yet smooth, be forbidden to be exported from the imperial domain, was almost certainly designed to conserve large horses for cavalry use. (See *History of the Former Han Dynasty,* tr. Homer H. Dubs [3 vols., Baltimore, 1938–55], I, 321.) Much later, in A.D. 1061, we find the superintendent of imperial pastures complaining that careless practices in breeding produced horses so small that they were not equal to the demands of war. (Sung Ch'i, *Ching-wen Chi* [Collected Papers of Sung Ch'i], *Kuo-hsüeh Chi-pen Ts'ung-shu* [Basic Sinological Series] ed. [Shanghai, 1937], 368.)

[6] Eduard Erkes, "Das Pferd in alten China," *T'oung Pao,* XXXVI (Pt. 1, 1942), 50–52, cites a number of passages that have been held to prove that riding took place earlier, but shows that they do not. A single Shang burial in which one man accompanies one horse has been argued to indicate horseback riding in the Shang period, but the evidence seems quite inadequate. (See Shih Chang-ju, *Yin-hsü Tsui-chin chih Chung-yao Fa-hsien, Fu Lun Hsiao-t'un Ti-ts'eng* [Recent Important Discoveries from the Shang Ruins, with a Discussion on the Strata of Hsiao-t'un], in *Chung-kuo K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao* [Chinese Journal of Archaeology], II [1947], 21–24; Franz Hančar, *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* [Vienna and Munich, 1956], 275–76.) Homer H. Dubs, "The Great Fire in the State of Lu3TU in 492 B.C.," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXXXIV (No. 1, 1964), 15–16, finds in the *Tso-chuan* a reference to cavalry at this early date. But neither James Legge nor Séraphin Couvreur, in translating this passage, supposes there to be any reference to cavalry, and in my opinion both the text and the commentary indicate that the horses mentioned here were to be used to draw vehicles.

[7] The *Sun-tzu* is said to be the earliest extant Chinese work on the art of war. Its date and authorship are uncertain, but it is generally considered to date from the Warring States period. (See Chang Hsin-ch'eng, *Wei-shu T'ung-k'ao* [A Study of Forged Books] [Changsha, 1939], 797–801; Samuel B. Griffith, *Sun Tzu, The Art of War* [Oxford, Eng., 1963], 1–12.) This text includes no mention of cavalry, though it does refer to the use of horse-drawn

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that King Wu-ling of the northern Chinese state of Chao, who reigned from 325 to 299 B.C., took over the technique of riding and cavalry warfare in openly avowed imitation of the practice of the nomads.[8]

The time and place of "the invention of riding" might well be impossible to determine. There is reason to believe that other animals may have been ridden long before the horse.[9] But our concern is with a more complex and specific technique: that of the mounted archer. The mounted nomads of Asia, who took the cavalry horse to the borders of China and compelled the Chinese to deal with it as a problem, were bowmen, and it is the technique of archery from horseback that the Chinese adopted. It seems to be generally agreed that this technique first comes to our knowledge, and was probably first developed, among nomadic peoples living in Western Asia and Southeastern Europe. Although mounted archers may have existed much earlier, the typical mounted nomadic bowman seems first to have been pictured in an Assyrian relief of the ninth century B.C.[10]

The technique of riding diffused through Eastern Europe rapidly, from about 800 B.C. onward.[11] It would seem logical to suppose that the technique of the mounted bowman would have spread across Asia, through nomadic peoples, quite rapidly, but in fact it seems to have been remarkably slow in penetrating to the borders of China. The excavation of the "Pazyryk kurgans"—five splendid subterranean tombs of nomadic chiefs, located near Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains not far from the western tip of Outer Mongolia—has made it clear that fine saddle horses were being bred and ridden in that area not later than the fifth century B.C. The men buried in them had many Chinese objects and were apparently influenced by Chinese

chariots in war. (See *Sun-tzu* [*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.], 2.1a, 9.14b, 16b, 18a; Griffith, *Sun Tzu, The Art of War*, 72, 119, 120.) Griffith says: "It is significant that Sun Tzu does not refer to cavalry. Cavalry was not made an integral branch in any Chinese army until 320 B.C. when King Wu Ling of Chao State introduced it—and trousers. It is reasonable to assume that if cavalry had been familiar to Sun Tzu he would have mentioned it." (*Ibid.*, 11.) The *Chuang-tzu* is commonly dated from around 300 B.C. Its ninth section, called "Horses' Hoofs," denouncing the restraints that government lays on men, decries the unnatural treatment to which horses used by men are subjected. And while it refers to the harnessing and yoking of horses, nothing in the chapter seems to make any reference to riding or the paraphernalia of riding. (See *Chuang-tzu* [*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.], 4.6a–8b; *The Writings of Kwang-zze*, tr. James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, XXXIX and XL [2 vols. reprinted in 1, London, 1927], I, 276–80.)

[8] *Chan-kuo Ts'e* [Stratagems of the Warring States] (*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.), 19.5b–9b; Takigawa Kametaro, *Shih-Chi Hui-chu K'ao-cheng* [*The Historical Records* with Collected Commentaries and Critical Studies] [hereafter cited as *Shih-chi*] (10 vols., Tokyo, 1932–34), 43.50–69; Se-ma Ts'ien, *Les Mémoires Historiques*, tr. Édouard Chavannes (5 vols., Paris, 1895–1905), V, 71–94.

[9] Downs, "Origin and Spread of Riding," 1196–97.

[10] Hančar, *Das Pferd*, 551–63; T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, XVII (Pt. 3–4, 1954), 282–318; Downs, "Origin and Spread of Riding," 1200–1202.

[11] *A History of Technology*, ed. Charles Singer *et al.* (5 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1954–58), II, 555.

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art.[12] Nevertheless, there seems to be no indication in Chinese literature that the nomadic peoples with whom the Chinese were in contact fought from horseback at an early date. Accounts of battles in 714 B.C. and again as late as 541 B.C. state specifically that the nomadic tribes of the northern border regions with whom the Chinese fought were foot soldiers.[13]

It may be, in fact, that mounted men are not clearly mentioned in Chinese literature until the account of the manner in which King Wu-ling of Chao adopted the technique of the mounted nomadic bowmen.[14] It is very detailed and circumstantial. Even though the danger from the mounted warrior was pressing, the Chinese resisted riding because, among other things, it required the wearing of a short jacket rather than the long gown which, in Chinese eyes, was obligatory for a man of status. The King succeeded, by a combination of persuasion and force, in forming a corps of mounted archers, which was very successful in defending the state and even extending its borders.[15]

Even though there seems to be no earlier reference to them, we may be perfectly sure that mounted nomads had been encountered by Chinese well before that time. The first Chinese who saw them may have laughed at

[12] A. P. Okladnikov, *Ancient Population of Siberia and Its Cultures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 36–39; Ellis H. Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *Proceedings of the British Academy, 1942,* XXVIII (London, 1942), 47–99; M. P. Griaznov and Eugene A. Golomshtok, "The Pazirik Burial of Altai," *American Journal of Archaeology,* XXXVII (No. 1, 1933), 30–45; Franz Hančar, "The Eurasian Animal Style and the Altai Complex (Cultural Historical Interpretation with a Consideration of the Newest Pazyryk Discoveries of 1946–1949)," *Artibus Asiae,* XV (Pt. 1–2, 1952), 171–94; Karl Jettmar, "The Altai before the Turks," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm,* XXIII (1951), 135–223; Otto Maenchen-Helfen, "A Chinese Bronze with Central-Asiatic Motives," *ibid.,* XXX (1958), 168–69; John F. Haskins, "The Pazyryk Felt Screen and the Barbarian Captivity of Ts'ai Wên-chi," *ibid.,* XXXV (1963), 141–60; M. P. Griaznov, *L'Art Ancien de l'Altaï* (Leningrad, 1958). Chester S. Chard, "First Radiocarbon Dates from the U. S. S. R.," *Arctic Anthropology,* I (1962), 84–86, publishes data indicating that Pazyryk Kurgan 5 has been dated to 530–430 B.C., and Kurgan 2 to 530–250 B.C. Haskins, "Pazyryk Felt Screen," 157, n. 91, gives a different radiocarbon dating from Soviet sources for Kurgan 5, indicating a mean date of 390 B.C.

[13] *The Ch'un Ts'ew* [*Ch'un-ch'iu*] *with the Tso Chuen* [*Tso-chuan*] [hereafter cited as *Tso-chuan*], tr. James Legge (2 vols., London, 1872), 27 (translation, 28), 572 (translation, 579.

[14] There may be such references, but I know of none, and none of those who have studied the matter, whose works I have read, seems to mention them. (See Erkes, "Das Pferd," 54–55; Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China,* 60–61; William Montgomery McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939], 100–101.)

[15] *Chan-kuo Ts'e,* 19.5b–9b; Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 43.50–69; Se-ma Ts'ien, *Mémoires Historiques,* V, 71–94. There is no assurance, however, that the discussion of this problem actually took place in the precise form in which it is set down. The language of the debate, with some variations, is used in a quite different context in *Shang-chün Shu* [The Book of Lord Shang] (*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.), 1.1a–3b; *The Book of Lord Shang,* tr. J. J. L. Duyvendak (London, 1928), 167–75. The detailed resemblance of these texts is discussed in Ch'i Ssu-ho, *Shang Yang Pien-fa K'ao* [On the Reforms of Shang Yang], *Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao* [Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies], XXXIII (1947), 172–76. Ch'i appears to think that the version concerned with King Wu-ling is the original, and this may be true. It seems likely, however, that the text as we have it is a literarily elaborated version of a discussion and an incident that did, nevertheless, actually take place.

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such "barbarian antics"; certainly they could not possibly have understood the gravity of this portent for China's future. It is also clear that, while we have such an explicit record only for Chao, other Chinese states must have taken over the technique of riding at about the same time if not even earlier.[16] Many historical events of the greatest moment must necessarily go unrecorded simply because historians would have to be prophets to recognize their importance.

The unobtrusive manner in which the phenomenon of the mounted archer appears in Chinese history would seem to corroborate Owen Lattimore's contention, which archaeological data subsequently discovered seem to support, that "horse nomadism" was not brought to the borders of China by any sudden migration or conquest by a particular people.[17] Instead there would seem to have been a movement across Asia, from west to east, of the technique of mounted warfare. And if this required superior horses, there must have gone with it either superior breeding stock, a superior technique of breeding and rearing horses, or both.[18]

Many scholars have held, on the basis of considerable evidence, that the technique of cavalry warfare that the Chinese adopted from their nomadic neighbors was transmitted across Asia from a place of origin in Iran or among nomads living in areas bordering on Iran.[19] And Iran and the lands adjacent to it have been, from very early times, an almost legendary reservoir of superior horses. P. N. Tretiakov and A. L. Mongait point out that "the thoroughbred horses raised on Armenian pastures were so famous that they ranked first on the list of tributes due the Achaemeneans. . . . the Armenians had to contribute 20,000 foals to the king on Mithra's holiday."[20] Darius I, the Achaemenian ruler who reigned from 521 to 486 B.C., and whose conquests gave Persia an extent "greater than that of any earlier empire west of China,"[21] called Persia a land "beautiful, possessing good

[16] Erkes, "Das Pferd," 52–54, cites evidence that riding was well known in some other states at around this same time, or very shortly thereafter.

[17] Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, 162–63.

[18] This thesis of the eastward movement of horse culture has been vigorously denied by a recent Chinese writer. He finds the domestication of the horse to have begun in China as early as anywhere else, and the chariot and the technique of riding to have been invented in China. (See Hsieh Ch'eng-chia, *Chung-kuo Yang-ma Shih* [The History of Horse Raising in China] [Peking, 1959], 26–27, 74–75, 79, 89.) Concerning the first two, it would seem that in fact our evidence does not really permit a certain conclusion either way; as for riding, the evidence cited by Hsieh is distinctly weak. Since so many Western writers have tended to insist that almost everything important must have gone from the West to China, it is not surprising to find a Chinese reversing the thesis.

[19] Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, Pt. I, *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor* (Chicago, 1914), 222–32; McGovern, *Central Asia*, 99–104; Minns, "Art of the Northern Nomads," 76–77.

[20] P. N. Tretiakov and A. L. Mongait, *Contributions to the Ancient History of the U. S. S. R., with Special Reference to Transcaucasia*, tr. Vladimir M. Maurin, ed. Henry Field and Paul Tolstoy (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 62.

[21] *Cambridge Ancient History* (12 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1923–39), IV, 2.

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horses, possessing good men," and therefore fearing no enemy.[22] Herodotus relates that Darius and his allies agreed that the rule should go to him "whose steed first neighed after the sun was up," and that Darius gained the throne by a trick that caused his horse to neigh first.[23] This is doubtless legend, but significant in the importance it gives to the horse.

Franz Hančar, in his extensive study of the early history of the horse, concludes that the art of breeding fine horses arose in the great area of Western Asia lying just north of Iran, including the regions now known as Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, and Kirghizistan; he calls this area "Turan." It is here, he believes, that the type of the riding horse, as a goal for breeding, was established during the first millennium B.C.[24]

In the Altai Mountains, on the eastern edge of this area, lie the Pazyryk kurgans. Here, frozen in solid ice since as early as the fifth century B.C., were excavated the remains of what are doubtless the best preserved early horses known. From them, Hančar believes, we can know what the early horses of Turan were like. Sixty-nine complete horses, and partial skeletons of eighteen more, were exhaustively studied by V. O. Vitt. He found that their size ranged from only 128 centimeters (12.59 hands) to 150 centimeters (14.76 hands). Thus while the smallest of these horses were even smaller than the average wild Przhevalski's horse, the largest were taller than the minimal height attained by the highly prized Arab horse today.[25]

"Quite contrary to all expectations," Eugene A. Golomshtok writes, "the Pazirik horse is not the well known type of wild horse found in Siberia (Equus Przevalskii), or the short sturdy Kirghizian type, but shows evidence of long domestication and breeding, reminding one of the racing type found among the Arabs." A. P. Okladnikov says that the Pazyryk horses "were excellent riding horses of the best breeds of the East, of noble blood, stately and lively jumpers of gold-brown color. They were not fed green fodder but selected grain, and were kept in well-attended stalls."[26]

These statements presumably refer to the larger Pazyryk horses, which differ so much from the smallest that they have sometimes been supposed to be a different breed, imported from the famous horse-raising lands to the west of the Altai. But Vitt, on the basis of his study, believes that the variation is due not to difference of breed but rather to the use of such techniques

[22] *Ibid.*, 4; Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, 210.
[23] *The History of Herodotus*, tr. George Rawlinson (New York, 1932), 179–80.
[24] Hančar, *Das Pferd*, 355–72.
[25] *Ibid.*, 362–63; Brian Seymour Vesey-FitzGerald, *The Book of the Horse* (Los Angeles, 1947), 147.
[26] Griaznov, "The Pazirik Burial of Altai," 45, n. f (by Eugene A. Golomshtok); Okladnikov, *Ancient Population of Siberia*, 37.

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as better feeding, selective breeding, and castration.[27] It would seem entirely likely that as the interest in superior horses grew there occurred both a diffusion of techniques of breeding and some movement of superior breeding stock across Asia.

Concerning the horses of the nomads who lived farther east, on the borders of China, we are dependent for information on Chinese sources. Regarding the horse in China itself, our information is by no means so complete as could be wished.[28] There seems to be general agreement, however, that the basic stock of early Chinese horses was the wild Przhevalski's horse.[29] It was undoubtedly improved somewhat in breeding by the Chinese and may early have been crossed with some imported stock. A recent archaeological find indicates that at least some Chinese horses of the tenth century B.C. had a configuration remarkably similar to that of the typical "Mongol pony" of the present day.[30] As early as the fourteenth century B.C. matched teams of various kinds of horses, distinguished both as to color and to size, were available in the stables of the Shang kings.[31] Clearly, some skill in breeding had already been developed. Poems and documents dating from early in the first millennium B.C. refer frequently to prized horses of special colors and characteristics.[32] The judging of horses was early recognized as a special art; a work written in the middle of the third century B.C. lists ten men who were "skilled at judging horses in antiquity."[33]

We have little evidence from which to deduce, with certainty, the size of early Chinese horses, but there is reason to believe that they were or-

[27] Hančar, *Das Pferd*, 363–64.

[28] While many skeletons of horses, dating from late Neolithic times onward, have been excavated in China, I have been able to find no published data giving the results of expert examination and measurement of these materials.

[29] Hančar, *Das Pferd*, 265–66; W. Perceval Yetts, "The Horse: A Factor in Early Chinese History," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, IX (1934), 242; Arthur de Carle Sowerby, "The Horse and Other Beasts of Burden in China," *China Journal*, XXVI (Dec. 1937), 282; Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), 61–62. Many fossils of the Przhevalski's horse have been excavated in China, showing that it was present from an early time. (Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih*, 21–25.)

[30] A bronze statuette of a horse, nearly thirteen inches high, was dug up in 1956. Its inscription, deciphered by Kuo Mo-jo, indicates that it was cast in the tenth century B.C. to commemorate a gift of two horses from the king. (See Kuo Mo-jo, *Li Ch'i-ming K'ao-shih* [On the Inscriptions of *Li* Sacrificial Vessels], in *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao* [Journal of Archaeology] [No. 2, 1957], 1–6; on the "Mongol pony," see Sowerby, "Beasts of Burden in China," 284 and facing illustration.) Interestingly enough, the "Mongol pony" is also believed to be the Przhevalski's horse altered by an undetermined amount of interbreeding with imported stock.

[31] Kuo Mo-jo, *Pu-tz'u T'ung-tsuan* [Studies on the Oracle-bone Inscriptions] (Tokyo, 1933); *K'ao-shih*, 155b–57a.

[32] *The Shoo King* [*Shu-ching*], tr. James Legge (2 vols., London, 1865), II, 562; *The She King* [*Shih-ching*], tr. *id.* (2 vols., London, 1871), I, 131, 193–94, II, 260, 291, 532; *The Book of Songs* [*Shih-ching*], tr. Arthur Waley (Boston and New York, 1937), 110, 111, 123, 134, 289; Erkes, "Das Pferd," 41–43.

[33] *Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* [The *Annals* of Lü Pu-wei] (*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.), 20.19a; *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We*, tr. Richard Wilhelm (Jena, 1928), 372.

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dinarily rather small.[34] As late as 146 B.C. the Chinese Imperial Secretary memorialized the throne proposing a ban on the export, from the imperial domain, of horses more than thirteen hands high whose teeth were not yet smooth.[35] This implies that horses larger than the wild horse were still somewhat rare and were considered so valuable that they must not be permitted to be lost to the imperial domain until they had reached an advanced age. The purpose was probably to conserve horses fit for war, of which China has usually had a shortage.

Like many other peoples the Chinese have commonly had a strong tendency toward ethnocentrism. When, in order to strengthen his army, King Wu-ling of Chao wished to adopt the "barbarian" practice of riding, one of his critics asserted that China itself was the place "where all things of value and utility are assembled."[36] Yet the Chinese seem never to have had this attitude with regard to horses. The horses of distant lands, usually

[34] They were not so small, however, as a passage in W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im Alten China,* I (Suppl. to Vol. XXXVII, *T'oung Pao* [1942]), 14, would indicate. He writes: "Die Pferde sind 3½ Fuss (rund 81 cm) hoch und 4,4 Fuss (rund 102 cm) lang (Hou-Han-shu 54, 5a)." It seems clear that he has misinterpreted the text. The passage is discussing a bronze model of a horse that the Han general Ma Yüan caused to be cast. The text (*Hou-Han-shu* [History of the Latter Han Dynasty], in *Er-shih-ssu Shih* [Twenty-four Histories] [Shanghai, 1884], 54.11b) says that this bronze "horse was three ch'ih five ts'un high, and four ch'ih four ts'un in circumference." There were, to be sure, horses even smaller than this in Latter Han times. (See *ibid.,* 115.10b.) But these were curiosities. It is clear that the usual horse at this time was not 81 centimeters in height. The work known as the *Chou-li* [Ritual of Chou] cannot be dated with certainty, but must have come to its present form during one of the late centuries B.C. It classifies horses as those six, seven, and eight ch'ih ("Chinese feet") tall. (See *Chou-li Chu-su* [*The Ritual of Chou,* with Commentaries], in *Shih-san Ching Chu-su* [*The Thirteen Classics,* with Commentaries] [Nanchang, 1815], 33.8a; *Le Tcheou-li* [*Chou-li*], *ou Rites des Tcheou,* tr. Édouard Biot [2 vols., Paris, 1851; photographic reprint, Peking, 1940], II, 261–62.) But it is impossible to tell what is the actual height referred to, since we cannot date the *Chou-li,* and the length of the ch'ih in Chou times probably varied with the time and place. Wu Ch'eng-lo, *Chung-kuo Tu-liang Heng Shih* [A History of Chinese Weights and Measures] (Shanghai, 1937), 130–31, calculates that the early Chou ch'ih measured only .1991 meter, which would make the 6-ch'ih horse stand only 11.76 hands high, much shorter than the wild horse. Nancy Lee Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China* (Princeton, N. J., 1950), 362, gives the length of the Han ch'ih as 9.094 inches. By this longer measure the 8-ch'ih horse would have exceeded 18 hands, which is hardly conceivable. The largest modern draft horse, the Shire, only exceeds 17. (See George Gaylord Simpson, *Horses* [New York, 1951], 44–45.) And even by this improbably large measure, the 6-ch'ih horse would have measured only a little more than 13⅓ hands, only slightly larger than the wild horse. Significantly, the *Chou-li* calls only the 6-ch'ih animals "horses," giving special names to the larger equines. It seems likely, then, that the ordinary horse in early China was not much larger than the wild horse. Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih,* 29, publishes photographs of excavated skeletons of Shang horses and says: "If we calculate on the basis of the horse bones in Plates 8 and 9, the height of Yin [Shang] horses may be estimated at about 145 centimeters" (p. 33). This is equal to more than 14 hands. But it seems impossible to be certain on what basis this estimate was made. If it was from inspection of photographs, it is hard to know what reliance to place on it.

[35] Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty,* I, 321. It appears that in ancient China, as today, the height of horses was normally calculated to the withers. (See Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih,* 35.)

[36] *Chan-kuo Ts'e,* 19.7a; Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 43.54; Se-ma Ts'ien, *Mémoires Historiques,* V, 77.

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to the west or the north, and even of their nomadic enemies near at hand have commonly been acknowledged quite frankly to be superior.

Even though mounted nomads in East Asia do not seem to be mentioned until the fourth century B.C., the nomads living on China's borders had horses long before this time.[37] Erkes, in his study of the horse in ancient China, finds that it is impossible to point to any particular region of China as outstanding in the breeding of horses, from which he concludes that they were raised in all parts of the country.[38] Undoubtedly they were, but evidently no region was producing especially fine horses. Even in antiquity, it appears, the best horses were commonly obtained from the nomads.

Early in the ninth century B.C., we are told, an attack by the Chinese on certain northern nomads resulted in the capture of a thousand horses.[39] In 538 B.C. the ruler of a northern Chinese state boasted that it feared no enemy because, among other assets, it had many horses. But one of his ministers rebuked his complacency and asserted that horses, apparently meaning the best horses, came from "northern Chi."[40] The exact location of this area is debated, but it was approximately in the northern tip of the modern Shansi Province, then a border area inhabited by nomads who may have been partly Sinicized.[41] In connection with the fierce struggles between the contending Chinese states in the fourth century B.C., emphasis was laid upon the strategic importance of controlling the horses of this region and importing horses from the northern nomads known as Hu.[42] In the third

[37] We know that the nomads of Western Asia used wagons as early as the eighth century B.C., and those near China probably had them early although specific evidence for them seems to be lacking until about the second century B.C. (See Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* [Cambridge, Eng., 1913], 50–52; McGovern, *Central Asia,* 52–53; *Chou-li,* 39.4ab; Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 110.30, 44, 52; Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China, Translated from the Shih-chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* [2 vols., New York and London, 1961], II, 168, 177, 182.)

[38] Erkes, "Das Pferd," 36.

[39] Wang Kuo-wei, *Ku-pen Chu-shu Chi-nien Chi-chiao* [The Annals of the Bamboo Books, Ancient Text Collated and Annotated], in *Wang Chung-ch'io Kung I-shu* [The Collected Works of Wang Kuo-wei] (42 vols., n.p., 1927–28), III, 8a.

[40] *Tso-chuan,* 592 (translation, 596). The name of this area was combined with the signific for "horse" to make the character *chi* which was used to denote especially fine horses. Confucius (*Analects,* 14.35) and others used this term frequently. A *chi* was said to be able to run 1,000 li (about 258 miles) in a day. This is clearly fable. The messenger service of Darius I, around 500 B.C., and the American pony express in 1860 and 1861, using relays of fresh horses, covered only about 180 and 244 miles per day respectively. (See *History of Technology,* ed. Singer *et al.,* II, 495–96; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [11th ed., 29 vols., New York, 1910–11], VI, 637, X, 85.)

[41] Almost certainly this reference is to Chi-chou; the reference to the "nine chou" just preceding (*Tso-chuan,* 592) indicates this. This is presumably the idea of the commentator Tu Yü (*Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan Chu-su* [The *Ch'un-ch'iu* and the *Tso-chuan* with Commentaries], in *Shih-san Ching Chu-su,* 42.20a) who says that these northern regions comprise Yen and Tai. I think that Erkes ("Das Pferd," 38) misunderstood this when he translated it as "das Tai von Yen." For the boundaries of Chi-chou, and the location of Tai and Yen, see Albert Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 10–11, 15; a similar location is indicated in Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih,* 25.

[42] *Chan-kuo Ts'e,* 3.1b, 18.8a.

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century B.C., the philosopher Hsün-tzu named fast horses as the special product of the "north sea," that is, of the vaguely defined region north of China.[43]

Emperor Wu of the Former Han dynasty, who reigned from 140 to 87 B.C., had an ability to focus attention upon himself that might be envied by a publicity agent of the twentieth century. His extensive and flamboyant efforts to secure "heavenly, blood-sweating horses" from Fergana, which were crowned with success around 100 B.C., have probably been studied and written about more than all the other importations of horses to China combined. The incident was important, but not, in so far as the acquisition of horses was concerned, that important. The number secured was small as compared with some later importations. And this was by no means the first acquisition of superior horses from abroad.

For some time the Chinese had been engaged in grim struggles with the nomads known as the Hsiung-nu (probably the people who, when they appeared in the West, were known as Huns). The superiority of their horses had long been recognized. Some two decades before Emperor Wu ascended the throne, a Chinese official, Ch'ao Ts'o, had pointed out that "the territory of the Hsiung-nu and the skills it demands are different from those of China. In climbing up and down mountains, and crossing ravines and mountain torrents, the horses of China cannot compare with those of the Hsiung-nu."[44] And there are clear indications that the Chinese had long been securing some superior horses from such peoples as the Hsiung-nu.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien, writing around 100 B.C., said that the Hsiung-nu, in addition to rearing numerous sheep, cattle, and horses, kept a number of rare animals, of which at least two seem to be special types of horses.[45] Both were present in considerable numbers in the stables of Emperor Wu.[46] One

[43] *Hsün-tzu* (*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.), 5.6a; *The Works of Hsüntze,* tr. Homer H. Dubs (London, 1928), 133.

[44] Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Ch'ien-Han-shu Pu-chu* [History of the Former Han Dynasty, with Commentaries] [hereafter cited as *Han-shu*], (1900), 49.10b.

[45] I.e., the *k'uai-t'i* and the *t'ao-t'u;* Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 110.2–3. The translation given in Watson, *Records,* II, 155, differs at some points from my understanding of the terms. Namio Egami, "The *K'uai-t'i,* the *T'ao-yü,* and the *Tan-hsi,* the Strange Domestic Animals of the Hsiung-nu," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko,* XIII (1951), 103–11, explains the *t'ao-t'u* to be the wild Przhevalski's horse. But if so, and if the Przhevalski's horse was the commonest horse of the Mongolian area and of China, it is hard to understand why Ssu-ma Ch'ien should have called the *t'ao-t'u* a "rare" animal of the Hsiung-nu (Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 110.2–3); still less is it clear why *t'ao-t'u* should have been numbered among the rare and valuable importations found in the palace stables of Emperor Wu. (*Yen-t'ieh Lun* [Discourses on Salt and Iron] [*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.], 3.4b; Huan K'uan, *Discourses on Salt and Iron,* tr. Esson M. Gale [Leiden, 1931], 92.) This identification seems improbable. Egami also ("Strange Domestic Animals," 111–23) identifies the *t'an-hsi* as "the wild ass, probably the *kulan*"; his argument does not seem very convincing, but there appears to be little basis for a firm identification of this animal.

[46] *Yen-t'ieh Lun,* 3.4b; *Discourses on Salt and Iron,* 92.

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of them, the *k'uai-t'i*,[47] is particularly interesting. It is said to have been an excellent horse of the northern nomads, able on the third day after its birth to jump over its mother; this legend was no doubt based upon the ability to jump for which the mounts of the nomads were renowned. A poet of the Latter Han period wrote that *k'uai-t'i* were used, along with horses from Fergana, as war horses in expeditions against the nomads.[48]

These facts lend particular interest to a statement made by the minister Li Ssu to the ruler of the state of Ch'in in 237 B.C. An edict had been issued calling for the expulsion of all ministers who were not natives of Ch'in, which would have meant the dismissal of Li Ssu. In order to counteract it he pointed out that Ch'in imported a great many things that were desirable and even essential. Thus "if only those things produced in Ch'in were to be permitted, then . . . the women of Cheng and Wei would not occupy the rear palaces, and fine horses and *k'uai-t'i* would not fill the outer stables."[49] From this it is evident that *k'uai-t'i* were being imported to Ch'in in considerable numbers at least a century and a half before Emperor Wu of Han secured horses from Fergana. It is quite clear, in fact, that Ch'in was buying horses from the northern nomads at this time. We have information about one merchant who, at about this time, made a practice of acquiring unusual silks which he presented to a ruler of the northern nomads, who in return gave him cattle and horses in large numbers. This pleased the ruler of Ch'in so much that he treated the merchant with great honor.[50] This may help to explain the way in which Chinese silks found their way to the Pazyryk kurgans.

Namio Egami has argued that the *k'uai-t'i* is "the Aryan horse originally bred on the shores of the Aral and Caspian Seas," and even that it was "blood-sweating" like those obtained from Fergana by Emperor Wu.[51] His conclusions do not seem convincing in all respects, but it is entirely probable that the best horses of the nomads of Eastern Asia came from stock imported from Western Asia. We have seen that in the middle of the second century B.C. Ch'ao Ts'o said that the horses of China could not compare with those of the Hsiung-nu "in climbing up and down mountains, and crossing ravines and mountain torrents." Fourteen centuries later Marco Polo used remarkably similar language in describing the horses of Bactria, which lies just southwest of Fergana.[52] He said:

[47] An exact translation of *k'uai-t'i* seems difficult, but both characters appear to denote a swift horse. (See Wang Nien-sun, *Kuang-ya Su-cheng* [Literary Expositor (Dictionary) with Commentaries] [1796], 10B.64b; Egami, "Strange Domestic Animals," 98.)

[48] Takigawa, *Shih-chi*, 83.22, 87.9; *Hou-Han-shu*, 110A.4b.

[49] Takigawa, *Shih-chi*, 87.9; for the date of this memorial, see *ibid.*, 6.11.

[50] *Ibid.*, 129.15–16; *Han-shu*, 91.5b–6a; Swann, *Food and Money*, 430.

[51] Egami, "Strange Domestic Animals," 90–103.

[52] Arthur Waley, "The Heavenly Horses of Ferghana: A New View," *History Today*, V

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And again you may know that very good horses are bred there and they are great runners and have such hard hoofs that they need to wear no irons on their feet. And they go in the mountains always, and the men gallop with them over the mountain slopes where other animals could not gallop, nor would they dare to gallop there.[53]

One of the most famous generals of the Han period, Ma Yüan (14 B.C.–A.D. 49), was renowned as a connoisseur of horses. His surname, Ma, means horse, which was not accidental. The founder of his family was a general, in the third century B.C., in the service of the state of Chao (the northern state, it will be recalled, which is the first Chinese state on record as having used cavalry). After a brilliant victory his ruler conferred upon Ma Yüan's ancestor the title of *Ma-fu Chün,* "Horse-taming Lord"; his descendants thereafter took Ma as their surname.[54]

Although he grew up in the capital, Ma Yüan, after some vicissitudes, became a wealthy stockman in the northern border area, raising cattle, horses, and sheep. He was involved in the fighting that attended the rise of the Latter Han dynasty and became an honored general under its first emperor; his daughter was married to the heir apparent and became a famous empress. He was fond of shooting the bow from horseback and was a connoisseur of horses.

Ma Yüan melted down a bronze drum he had captured in Indochina and cast a bronze model of a horse, which was designed to make clear the points to be observed in judging horses. In the inscription cast on it he gave the derivation of his connoisseurship of horses, naming his teacher, his teacher's teacher, and so forth, going back for four generations. In this inscription he said, "Horses are the foundation of military might, the great resource of the state."[55]

They were, indeed. The militant nomads, on their swift and strong horses, were China's greatest danger and would continue to be for almost two thousand years. From being a serious annoyance earlier, they had become a dire menace when, just at the beginning of the Han dynasty, their formerly scattered bands were consolidated under an able leader. The Chinese themselves were not firmly united, and only a combination of warfare, diplomacy, and costly bribery staved off disaster. Serious raids were frequent, and in 166 B.C. the Hsiung-nu pushed deep into Chinese territory, carrying off large numbers of animals and people and sending

(Feb. 1955), 96, says: "The belief of some historians that Ferghana was once part of the Greek kingdom of Bactria is based upon misunderstanding of the Chinese texts."

[53] Yetts, "The Horse," 246–47. This is a translation of a composite version of the text of Marco Polo, based in part upon a recently discovered text.

[54] Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 81.15; *Hou-Han-shu,* 54.1a.

[55] *Ibid.,* 54.

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their scouts to a point within sight of the capital. Despite the most strenuous efforts against him, the Hsiung-nu leader remained within China for more than a month, and when he retired the pursuing Chinese could not kill one of the enemy.[56]

The Chinese needed horses desperately. At the beginning of Han, around 200 B.C., they were extremely scarce, probably as a result of the preceding years of civil war. As Nancy Lee Swann points out, "the supply of horses for the armed forces was a great strain on Han resources." The government used many devices to stimulate breeding, and in time horses became more numerous.[57] By 119 B.C. Wu, the "Martial Emperor," was able to send an army of 100,000 cavalry followed by several hundred thousand infantry into the northern wilds. They surrounded the ruler of the Hsiung-nu, but he escaped; the Chinese army nevertheless is said to have killed or captured some 80,000 nomads. It was a great victory, but it cost the Chinese dearly. The treasury was so depleted that the armies got hardly any pay. The Chinese are said to have lost, in addition to "several tens of thousands" of men killed, more than 100,000 military horses; presumably this included some of those used for transport as well as cavalry horses. One can only speculate on the reasons for such a toll; probably the fact that the Chinese horses were not accustomed to the Hsiung-nu country, or adequate to the exertions it demanded, had much to do with it. The result was that the Chinese, for lack of horses, were unable to attack the Hsiung-nu effectively for some time.[58]

Emperor Wu had many plans (and indeed he needed them) for withstanding and if possible crushing the Hsiung-nu. Soon after he came to the throne, at the age of fifteen, he heard that a nomadic people known as the Yüeh-chih, who had been driven west from their former homeland and settled in Bactria (approximately modern Afghanistan), were thirsting for revenge against the Hsiung-nu who had dispossessed them. Wu called for volunteers to pass through the lands of the Hsiung-nu and establish relations with the Yüeh-chih. A young "Court Gentleman," a member of the palace guard, Chang Ch'ien, was among those who responded. He was appointed envoy and set off with a party of some hundred men about 139 B.C.[59] Thus one of the great voyages of exploration of all history was rather

[56] Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 110.37–38; Watson, *Records,* II, 172–73.

[57] *Han-shu,* 24A.9b, 15b, 24B.4a, 9b–10a, 17b, 18ab; Swann, *Food and Money,* 37–39, 149, 175, 231, 262, 304, 308–309.

[58] *Han-shu,* 6.16ab, 24B.12b; Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty,* II, 65–66; Swann, *Food and Money,* 274–75; Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 110.52–54; Watson, *Records,* II, 182–83.

[59] *Han-shu,* 61.1a–2b; Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 123.2–3; Watson, *Records,* II, 264. The dates of Chang Ch'ien's journey are variously given. Both Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 123.5 (Watson, *Records,* II, 266), and Wang, *Han-shu,* 61.2b, say that he was gone for thirteen years, and Wang Hsien-ch'ien (*Han-shu,* 61.2b, commentary) says that he returned in 126 B.C.

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directly caused by the rise of the mounted warrior in Asia. As was predictable, Chang Ch'ien was captured by the Hsiung-nu, but eventually managed to escape and to reach the Yüeh-chih. He found them comfortable and prosperous, not disposed to seek revenge and still less to help China. After further adventures he returned to China around 126 B.C., having lost all but one of his companions on the way.

Although Chang Ch'ien had failed to secure an alliance with the Yüeh-chih he brought back invaluable information. His geographical knowledge helped the Chinese armies fighting the Hsiung-nu, and the Emperor questioned him eagerly about the lands he had seen. Chang suggested an alliance with another nomadic people, the Wu-sun, who were disaffected with the Hsiung-nu. This diplomatic effort was partially successful, and in return for the Emperor's gifts the Wu-sun sent him "several tens" of horses. Before this the Emperor had divined, using the *Book of Changes,* and been told that he would obtain "spirit horses" from the northwest. When he received those from the Wu-sun he was delighted and called them "heavenly horses." But by this time China was in communication with Fergana, and Emperor Wu heard that there were still finer horses there.[60]

This is not surprising since that fertile region lies within the southeastern portion of what Hančar calls Turan, which he believes to be the original home of fine riding horses. At the beginning of the twentieth century it still produced large numbers of horses, and according to W. Perceval Yetts, "Scythians, bringing horses from Ferghāna, are among the tribute-bearers represented at Persepolis."[61] The Chinese of the Han period found the horses of Fergana to be "even more robust" than those they obtained from the Wu-sun.[62] In size they must have towered above the horses then common in China. A court official writing in the first century A.D. said that the "blood-sweating" Fergana horses were "all seven ch'ih in height" (63.66 inches,[63] almost exactly 16 hands). This is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches taller than the tallest horses found in the Pazyryk kurgans, and almost as tall as the minimum standard for a modern Percheron draft mare.[64] In the eleventh century A.D., war horses purchased by the Chinese government ranged only up to 57.73 inches, 6 inches shorter than the Fergana horses of a thousand years earlier.[65] And

[60] *Ibid.,* 61.1a–6a; Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 123.1–32; Watson, *Records,* II, 264–80.

[61] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* X, 270; Yetts, "The Horse," 247.

[62] Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 123.24; Watson, *Records,* II, 274; *Han-shu,* 61.6a.

[63] Wei Hung, *Han-kuan Chiu-i* [The Official Rituals of the Han Dynasty], in *Jung-yüan Ts'ung-shu* [Collected Works of Wei Hung] (Kuang-tung, 1874), *hsia*.4b. The Han ch'ih measured .231 meter, according to Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty,* I, 279. For the Latter Han ch'ih, Yang K'uan, *Chung-kuo Li-tai Ch'ih-tu K'ao* [A Study of the History of Measures in China] (Changsha, 1938), 75, gives .232 meter, a negligible difference.

[64] Hančar, *Das Pferd,* 363; Vesey-FitzGerald, *Book of the Horse,* 628.

[65] *Sung-shih* [History of the Sung Dynasty] (in *Er-shih-ssu Shih*), 198.7a. For the conversion value of 4 ch'ih 7 ts'un of Sung times, see Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih,* 34.

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a text of the tenth century said that the "official horses" of that day (perhaps those ridden or driven by officials of high prestige) were still of the stock of Fergana, which was "extremely large."[66]

Some of his numerous envoys told Emperor Wu that the people of Fergana had some particularly splendid horses, but that they kept them hidden and refused to give any to the Chinese. He therefore sent a party with much gold to secure some of them. But the men of Fergana reflected that China was far away and that the road lay through uninhabited desert areas without food or water. The Chinese came in parties of only a few hundreds, but even so they ran out of food, and over half died on the way. How could a great army reach Fergana? And their finest horses were their treasure; they refused to part with any. The Chinese envoys, enraged, cursed them and left. The people of Fergana responded to these insults by murdering the Chinese.

The Emperor's rage may be imagined. Assured that three thousand Chinese soldiers could crush Fergana, he sent out "several tens of thousands" in 104 B.C. The march took a terrible toll, and only a few thousand reached their destination. They were beaten, and the survivors returned to the Chinese border after two years. The Emperor, still more furious, ordered that any of these soldiers who dared to enter China should be beheaded on the spot. The Hsiung-nu were making trouble again, and his advisers pleaded with the Emperor to give up the Fergana project. He answered by putting the protesters in prison and then pressed huge plans for a new expedition. "The whole empire was thrown into turmoil" with the preparations. Sixty thousand more soldiers were provided, in addition to whom there were many porters and personal attendants. The animals mustered included a hundred thousand cattle, more than thirty thousand horses, and tens of thousands of donkeys, mules, and camels. Great stores of crossbows and other weapons were laid up, and so much food that even the grueling desert marches did not exhaust it. Engineers skilled in water control were provided to divert the water supplies of besieged cities. And two men versed in judging horses were sent to select the finest of the Fergana steeds.

An army of thirty thousand Chinese actually reached Fergana. After a siege of more than forty days, the people of Fergana killed their king and agreed to surrender some of their horses. The Chinese set up a new king favorable to themselves and withdrew with the horses; they selected "several tens of the best horses" and more than three thousand stallions and mares of

[66] *T'ang Hui-yao* [A Digest of Governmental Institutions of the T'ang Dynasty], comp. Wang P'u, ed. Yang Chia-lo (Taipei, 1950), 1036. Waley, "Heavenly Horses of Ferghana," 102, takes the position that the horses of Fergana were sought by the Han Emperor Wu "in order to

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lesser quality. Emperor Wu was delighted with them; they were called "blood-sweating heavenly horses." Presumably this name was applied only to the finest horses. The adjective "heavenly" was probably connected with Wu's religious or magical ideas about them; the most plausible theory to account for "blood-sweating" is that it refers to small lesions caused by parasites.[67]

The total military effort to secure horses from Fergana had taken four years.[68] If this had been its only purpose these might well rank as the most expensive horses in history. The reign of Wu left the country bankrupt; his military ventures were among the principal reasons for this, and the expedition to Fergana was one of the most costly.[69] The economic drain is impossible to calculate. Of all the men and horses that set out for Fergana, it is recorded that only something over ten thousand men and one thousand horses returned alive to China.[70]

Various motivations have been put forward for this grandiose expedition. It has been alleged that this was "to a large extent a religious quest."[71] Undoubtedly this played a role; Emperor Wu also established new sacrifices, patronized magicians, and sent out expeditions to look for islands in the Eastern Sea that were supposedly inhabited by immortals.[72] It has also been argued that the Emperor's chief incentive was to secure larger and fleeter mounts for his troops, and in the light of all the evidence it seems clear that this did play a role.[73] But Emperor Wu was a complex character.

secure Heavenly Horses which would carry him to Heaven." He says that "there is no evidence that Heavenly Horses were used in battle either in Ferghana or in China." (*Ibid.*, 102.) But in fact, as we have seen, the use of Fergana horses in fighting is mentioned in *Hou-Han-shu*, 110A.4b. By speaking here of "Heavenly Horses" Waley is evading the real question: were horses obtained from Fergana used in battle in Han times? The answer is that they were. Waley also says: "Nowhere, I think, is it said that they [i.e., "Heavenly Horses"] were larger than Chinese horses, though this has constantly been assumed by Western writers." (*Ibid.*) The evidence cited above certainly indicates that the Fergana horses were extremely large and that there is every reason to feel assured that they were much larger than most of the horses in China both in Han times and later. Further evidence against Waley's view is the nature of the titles of the two men sent by the Emperor to Fergana "to select good horses." (Takigawa, *Shih-chi*, 123.37.) These would appear to be ordinary official titles and refer to "managing horses" and "driving horses." If the purpose had been primarily to select horses having special religious virtues, why did the Emperor not send men with religious qualifications? Certainly there was some religious aspect to this curious affair, and Waley has performed a service by emphasizing it. But in doing so he has given undue attention to a part of the evidence and neglected other parts of it entirely.

[67] Waley, "Heavenly Horses of Ferghana"; Richard Edwards, "The Cave Reliefs at Ma Hao," *Artibus Asiae*, XVII (Pt. 1, 1954), 13–28; Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, II, 134–35.

[68] The account of the Fergana expedition is contained in Takigawa, *Shih-chi*, 123.32–42; Watson, *Records*, II, 280–88; *Han-shu*, 61.

[69] Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, II, 12–13, 17.

[70] Takigawa, *Shih-chi*, 123.41; Watson, *Records*, II, 287.

[71] Waley, "Heavenly Horses of Ferghana"; see note 66, above.

[72] Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, II, 19–20; Takigawa, *Shih-chi*, 28.24–86; Se-ma Ts'ien, *Mémoires Historiques*, III, 436–516; Watson, *Records*, II, 26–67.

[73] Yetts, "The Horse."

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In addition to these motives, he also acted from the desire to extend the influence of his empire and the fame of his name.

After the return of Chang Ch'ien from his trail-blazing journey, the Emperor questioned him eagerly about the lands he had visited.

> Thus the emperor learned of such countries as Fergana, Bactria, and Parthia, all large states having many unusual products, cultivating the soil in a manner similar to that of the Chinese, militarily weak, and prizing China's valuable goods. To their north there were such peoples as the Yüeh-chih and the K'ang-chü; these were militarily strong, but by means of gifts and the lure of profit they could be induced to accept Chinese sovereignty. If their allegiance could only be achieved by fair dealing, the empire could be extended for ten thousand *li* to embrace men of strange customs whose languages would have to be repeatedly retranslated through nine interpreters—thus the awe-inspiring virtue of the emperor would be extended to all lands within the four seas. The emperor, overjoyed, agreed with Chang Ch'ien's words.[74]

Emperor Wu was not noted for "fair dealing" within China, but the remoteness of Central Asia initially constrained him. As we have seen, he sent envoys with much gold to buy some of the fine horses of Fergana. But when his offer was not only refused but his envoys killed, more than his pride was at stake. After his first army had returned from Fergana, beaten, the situation was even graver. "The emperor had undertaken to punish Fergana. Fergana was a small state; if he could not even subdue it, then such states as Bactria would despise China, and he would certainly never get the fine horses of Fergana. . . . China would be a laughingstock among the nations."[75]

This first great Chinese military thrust deep into Central Asia, of such historic moment, was only in part occasioned by the need for horses. But it was a factor. Once the Chinese had set up regular communications with Central Asia, and established a protectorate over a portion of it, the importation of superior equine stock must have been relatively easy. A number of scholars have pointed out that the representations of the horse in Han dynasty art show two types. One of these is believed to be the smaller horse common in China before the advent of Central Asian horses in quantity; the other is plausibly held to depict the larger and more highly bred horses from Central Asia. And certainly the typical larger horses shown in Han dynasty reliefs show striking resemblance to horses depicted on Bactrian coins of the second century B.C.[76]

[74] Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 123.16–17; Watson, *Records,* II, 269–70; *Han-shu,* 61.3ab.

[75] Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 123.35–36; Watson, *Records,* II, 283; *Han-shu,* 61.10a.

[76] Salomon Reinach, "La Représentation du Galop dans l'Art Ancien et Moderne," *Revue archéologique,* 3d ser., XXXVIII (1901), 225–27; Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Leiden, 1909), 161–62; C. W. Bishop, "The Horses of T'ang T'ai-tsung," *Museum Journal,* IX (Pts. 3, 4, 1918), 250–51, 260–61; Yetts, "The Horse," 240–45; Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty,* II, 135.

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The cavalry horse, which seems to have been unknown in China early in the fourth century B.C., had become firmly established in the role it was to play in subsequent Chinese history even before the beginning of the Christian era. By virtue of it the nomads had become a deadly threat and were able at times to invade Chinese territory almost at will. The Chinese had to develop cavalry to counter the nomads, and even though they made great economic sacrifices to breed cavalry horses they still had to secure additional mounts from outside their borders. Both to secure horses and to outflank the Hsiung-nu they pushed far into Central Asia, opening a new chapter in China's political and military history and in its foreign relations.

Although the menace of the mounted nomad was seldom wholly absent, it subsided greatly during most of the latter portion of the Han period. But at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. the long-pending threat of nomadic conquest became a reality. For nearly two centuries north China was ruled chiefly by invaders of nomadic origin, who at times divided the area into a number of small states. After China was again unified, and shortly after the T'ang dynasty (618–906) was established, the nomadic danger was emphasized by a Turkish raid that reached the walls of the capital. The T'ang built up a strong force of cavalry, but for this they needed horses.

At the beginning of T'ang its army is said to have had only 5,000 horses, but a vigorous breeding program increased these to 700,000 in a few decades. But there was nevertheless a constant demand for foreign horses. Those they received from Samarkand were believed by the men of T'ang to be of the same blood as the "heavenly horses" of Fergana, and it is said that six true "blood-sweating horses" were sent from Fergana to the Chinese emperor in the middle of the eighth century. Even some Arab horses were brought by Moslem envoys. But most of the T'ang horses came from the Turkish tribes to the north. We read of one gift from a Turkish tribe of 50,000 "grizzled black-maned horses," but for the most part they had to be bought, and at high prices. "In 773," Edward H. Schafer writes, "the Uighurs [a Turkish people] sent a special agent with ten thousand horses for sale. Their cost was more than the annual income of the government from taxes."[77]

Horses played a very important role in the silk trade. We have seen that as early as the third century B.C. a merchant in the state of Ch'in made a practice of seeking out unusual silks to present to a ruler of the northern nomads, who gave him large numbers of horses and cattle in return. The

[77] *T'ang-shu* [History of the T'ang Dynasty] (in *Er-shih-ssu Shih*), 50; Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 58–64.

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animals he received, the Chinese text tells us, were of ten times the value of the goods he gave.[78] And in the first century B.C. we find a high Chinese official gloating over the buying power of Chinese silks, which could be exchanged with the Hsiung-nu for fine horses and other commodities necessary to China, thus "using the non-essential to trade for the fundamental." Thus, he said, "a single length of plain silk secures from the Hsiung-nu goods worth many pieces of gold, thus draining away the resources of our enemy."[79] In fact, of course, this situation reflected supply and demand. Among the Hsiung-nu fine riding horses were plentiful and silk was a rarity, while in China the reverse was true. But horses were essential to the Chinese, as silk was not to the nomads, and in time this came, inevitably, to be reflected in the terms of exchange.

At the beginning of the ninth century, Arthur Waley writes,

> fifty pieces of silk, in theory fifty Chinese feet long, were paid for each horse, and as the horses arrived sometimes ten thousand at a time, the production of so much silk was a severe strain on the silk industries of the Yangtze and Huai valleys, and even by using a coarse weave and cutting down the length of the strip to "thirty-odd feet" (supposed still to be charitably counted as forty) the women workers could not meet the demand. The Uighurs were dissatisfied with the silk they were getting, and complained. . . .[80]

The financial impact on China was grave. "In the early part of the ninth century," Schafer says, "it was not unusual for the shattered nation to pay out a million bolts of taffeta in a year in exchange for a hundred thousand decrepit nags, the dregs of the northern marches."[81] Although our information about the actual operations of the silk trade across Central Asia is regrettably slight, it seems probable that much of the silk that was traded to nomads, from an early day, for horses, was in turn traded by them still farther to the west, where its rarity, increasing with the distance from China, would give it greater and greater value.

Control of military horses played a role in the rebellion of An Lu-shan, which, although it was put down, decisively weakened the T'ang dynasty. An Lu-shan, an able general of Turkish and Sogdian ancestry, became a favorite of Emperor Hsüan-tsung, who reigned from 712 to 756, and his famous consort Yang Kuei-fei.[82] Among the responsibilities given to him was extensive jurisdiction over the cavalry horses of the empire. An quietly selected the best war horses and sent them to the territory under his personal control in the northeast, thus giving him a considerable advantage

[78] Takigawa, *Shih-chi*, 129.15–16; *Han-shu*, 91.5b–6a; Swann, *Food and Money*, 430.
[79] *Yen-t'ieh Lun*, 1.5ab; *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, 14.
[80] Arthur Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i, 772–846* A.D. (London, 1949), 55.
[81] Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 64.
[82] Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (Cambridge, Eng., 1955), 7–23.

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when he was ready to revolt and proclaim himself emperor in 755.[83] An captured the T'ang capital, and his rebellion was only quelled with the help of numerous foreign troops, including even some Moslems from far to the west.[84]

Sung Ch'i (998–1061) was a famous scholar and an eminent official who had extensive practical experience with the effort to bolster the defenses of China's borders. He wrote:

> The reason why our enemies to the north and west are able to withstand China is precisely because they have many horses and their men are adept at riding; this is their strength. China has few horses, and its men are not accustomed to riding; this is China's weakness. . . . The court constantly tries, with our weakness, to oppose our enemies' strength, so that we lose every battle. . . . Those who propose remedies for this situation merely wish to increase our armed forces in order to overwhelm the enemy. They do not realize that, without horses, we can never create an effective military force.

In another memorial Sung pointed out that, while China had a large number of cavalrymen, only one or two out of ten had a horse to ride.[85]

Many of China's most able men devoted their attention to the perennial problem of securing enough good horses. These included Po Chü-i (whom we tend to think of as a poet, forgetting his very active political career), Ssu-ma Kuang, Wang An-shih, Ou-Yang Hsiu, and a great many others less famous but scarcely less important.[86] But the difficulty was never permanently eliminated. The *History of the Ch'ing Dynasty* comments that "when we read over the various discussions of the problem of the procurement and management of the government's horses, advanced during the Sung and Ming periods, not one proposes a workable solution." The concern of the Sung dynasty (960–1279) was fully justified, in view of the fact that it was terminated by the Mongol conquest. "The Yüan [Mongol] house took the empire," the *History of the Yüan Dynasty* tells us, "by virtue of the bow and the horse."[87]

Whereas silk seems to have been the principal commodity exchanged for horses in early times, it appears to have been replaced in first position by tea. This does not mean, of course, that money also was not paid out; it was, and in 1077 the Finance Commissioner, in a communication to the emperor,

[83] *T'ang-shu*, 50.17b.

[84] F. S. Drake, "Mohammedanism in the T'ang Dynasty," *Monumenta Serica*, VIII (1943), 7–11; H.A.R. Gibb, "Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, II (1921–23), 618–19.

[85] Sung, *Ching-wen Chi*, 366, 369.

[86] Waley, *Po Chü-i*, 55–56; Ssu-ma Kuang, *Wen-kuo Wen-cheng Ssu-ma Kung Wen-chi* [Collected Literary Works of Ssu-ma Kuang] (*Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an* ed.), 50.2b–8a; Ou-yang Hsiu, *Wen-chung Kung Wen-chi* [Collected Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu] (*Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an* ed.), 112.7b–10b, 113.3a–4a; Sung, *Ching-wen Chi*, 366–70, 372–73.

[87] *Ch'ing-shih* [History of the Ch'ing Dynasty] (8 vols., Taipei, 1961), III, 1730; *Yüan-shih* [History of the Yüan Dynasty] (in *Er-shih-ssu Shih*), 100.1a.

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named war horses as one of the chief commodities for which funds were needed.[88] But since tea came to be in great demand by the nomads, the Chinese made use of this fact to procure horses. Official "Tea and Horse Offices" were established by the Sung government in border areas, to control the sale of tea to the nomads and the purchase of horses from them. Similar "Tea and Horse Offices" were set up under the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. The Chinese government tried to maintain the price of tea, beyond China's borders, at an artificially high price in order to enhance its buying power in terms of horses. This naturally led to smuggling, and the death penalty was at times imposed for the unauthorized sale of tea to the nomads.[89]

Under the Yüan dynasty (1280–1367) large numbers of Mongols came to live in China, and one might suppose that the technique of breeding cavalry mounts would have become well established in China. But there seems to be no evidence that it did. From the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) the need for horses was critical, and great efforts were made to import them. When the Ming had been established for more than a century they were still importing ten thousand head a year, and importation at almost this rate was still going on near the end of the dynasty.[90] Even the Manchus, who themselves had been horsemen, when they controlled China during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), continued to import horses to China Proper (as distinct from such areas as Mongolia, Manchuria, Chinese Turkestan, and Tibet, which the Ch'ing rulers also controlled). They did not try to supply all of their need for horses by breeding them within China Proper.[91] Sowerby writes:

> The Chinese do not seem to have gone in much for horse-breeding since the Mongol conquest, depending for their supplies of these animals upon Mongolia. . . . China is the chief market for gelded Mongol ponies of from four to eight years. The Mongols seem disinclined to part with their mares, requiring them for breeding purposes. Such mares as do happen to reach China are usually crossed with donkeys to produce mules, which are considered superior to horses, both as draft and pack animals.[92]

The reasons behind China's failure to solve the horse problem are complex. The economic situation was undoubtedly important. Intensive

[88] Li Tao, *Hsü Tzu-chih T'ung-chien Ch'ang Pien* [Collected Data for a Continuation of the *Complete Mirror for Aid in Government*] (Chekiang Shu-chü, 1881), 283.8a.

[89] *Sung-shih*, 167.17b–18b, 198.24b–25a; *Ming-shih* [History of the Ming Dynasty] (in *Er-shih-ssu Shih*), 80.19b–22b, 92.24a; *Ch'ing-shih*, III, 1731.

[90] *Ming-shih*, 80.25b–26a, 92.25a; *Ming Hui-yao* [A Digest of Governmental Institutions of the Ming Dynasty], comp. Lung Wen-pin (Taipei, 1950), 1205. The last reference indicates that the number of horses sometimes fell below this figure, but apparently only because the Chinese were unable to obtain as many horses as they wanted.

[91] *Ch'ing-shih*, III, 1730–31.

[92] Sowerby, "Beasts of Burden in China," 284.

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agriculture in China has not left much room for pasture. Although pasture lands were set aside within China Proper, on the basis of military necessity, this practice was attacked on the ground that it removed land from farming and interfered with the livelihood of the people.[93] The Mongol conquest, in which a large proportion of the inhabitants of north China were slaughtered, had been a terrible lesson, and the succeeding Ming dynasty at first established extensive pastures for raising military horses in the center of China. But the demand for agricultural land gradually reduced them, until the principal pastures were again in the border areas where they had usually been.[94] The border areas were suited for the purpose, but they were also vulnerable to raids by nomads, who sometimes made off with the horses.

The Chinese failure to solve the problem of breeding horses was not caused by the lack of a serious and systematic approach to it. We have seen that selective breeding was being practiced in China even before the first millennium B.C. and that a methodical discipline for judging the qualities of horses was developed well before the Christian era. Veterinary medicine, for the treatment of horses, was being practiced as early as the fifth century B.C.[95] From early in the first millennium B.C. we have evidence that there were government officials in charge of the procurement and rearing of horses, both at the royal court and in various states; in some cases their rank was high.[96] The Ch'in (221–207 B.C.) and Han dynasties had special bureaucratic structures to supervise governmental activities concerned with horses; under the Han it was quite elaborate, and the official in charge of it ranked eighth among the highest ministers of the empire. Subsequent dynasties had comparable governmental organs, revised and at times greatly elaborated.[97] At least as early as the T'ang dynasty careful records were kept in which each horse belonging to the government was individually registered and graded as to quality. The horses themselves were branded to show their origin and qualitative ranking.[98]

Yet with all this care to distinguish the best horses, it is not clear that

[93] Sung, *Ching-wen Chi*, 368–69, 372–73.

[94] *Ming-shih*, 92.22b–23b.

[95] *Mo-tzu* (*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.), 2.10a; *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse*, tr. Yi-pao Mei (London, 1929), 49. A state establishment for veterinary medicine is described in the *Chou-li;* while this work cannot be definitely dated, or entirely credited, it dates from before the Christian era, and there may well have existed (though not, as tradition holds, at the beginning of the Chou dynasty) something corresponding to the institutions it describes. (See *Chou-li*, 1.11a, 5.8b–9a, 33.6b; *Tcheou-li*, I, 9, 98–99, II, 259–60.)

[96] *The She King*, 322; *Tso-chuan*, 407, 801. Sven Broman, "Studies on the Chou Li," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm*, XXXIII (1961), 44–45, lists references concerning officials in charge of horses in a number of works; a few of these references are of doubtful date, but most of them are valid for the Chou period.

[97] Sun K'ai, *Ch'in Hui-yao* [A Digest of Governmental Institutions of the Ch'in Dynasty], supplemented by Shih Chih-mien and Hsü Fu, in *Chung-hua Ts'ung-shu* [Chinese Collectanea] (Taipei, 1956), 214; *Han-shu*, 19A.12a–13a, 19B.1a; Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih*, 68–71.

[98] *Ibid.*, 126–29.

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there was equal attention to breeding from them. In 1061 Sung Ch'i, in his capacity as superintendent of government pastures, complained that it had long been the practice to permit the various equine strains to mix indiscriminately. "Sometimes the sire is large and the dam small, sometimes the sire is small and the dam large. At the time of breeding there is no selection or discrimination; thus there is no means of obtaining large and excellent horses." The resulting horses could not measure up, he said, to the demands of warfare.[99]

The riding horse was forced upon the Chinese. It was first thrust upon their attention as a new and deadly weapon that their nomadic enemies had acquired, and it seems always to have been regarded primarily as an instrument for fighting the nomads. King Wu-ling of Chao, around 300 B.C., encountered strong prejudice when he compelled his subjects to take up riding as a matter of military necessity. A century and a half later, when cavalry had long been important in the Chinese armies, Ch'ao Ts'o stated as a matter of course that the Chinese could not compare with the nomads as riders—and he appears to have assumed that they never could.[100] As late as the eleventh century A.D., after northern China had gone through the experience of being conquered and ruled by wave after wave of nomadic horsemen, Sung Ch'i could still write that the Chinese were "unaccustomed to riding."[101]

Some Chinese, certainly, became outstanding horsemen. But it is hard to avoid the impression that to Chinese in general the riding horse remained something strange, almost foreign in nature. Horses, and horsemen, were in general associated with the border areas of the north and west.[102] It is a striking fact that the grooms and handlers of horses appearing in Chinese art seem almost always to be depicted as non-Chinese.[103] The Chinese knew that they had to have horses, and they addressed themselves with great seriousness to the problem. They built up a huge bureaucratic apparatus for dealing with it, but there is little to indicate that they brought real zest and

[99] Sung, *Ching-wen Chi,* 368.

[100] His proposed remedy was not for the Chinese to become better cavalrymen, but rather to enlist barbarians to fight barbarians. (*Han-shu,* 49.10b–12a.)

[101] Sung, *Ching-wen Chi,* 366.

[102] *Yüan-shih,* 100.1a; Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih,* 25; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen,* I, 15.

[103] See Jane Gaston Mahler, *The Westerners among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China* (Rome, 1959), plates XIIc, XVIIIa–b, XXa, XXIIIa–d, XXIVa–b. My colleague, Father Harrie A. Vanderstappen of the department of art of the University of Chicago, tells me that he has paid particular attention to the attendants of horses depicted in Chinese paintings and that it is his impression that they are without exception shown as being non-Chinese. (Verbal communication of Mar. 9, 1964.)

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zeal to the task. The very impersonality of their approach may have helped to defeat their end. Anyone with even a modicum of experience with horses knows that a spirited mount will not perform at its best unless there is a great deal of rapport between horse and rider. And it is doubtful that the great mass of Chinese cavalrymen could compare, in establishing such rapport, with the nomads who rode from infancy and lived with and on their horses.[104] The Mongols, it appears, had no bureaucratic structure for the management of their horses until after they conquered China; after they established the Yüan dynasty they copied and elaborated the Chinese system.[105] But it is significant that, before doing so, they conquered China.

Judiciously to evaluate the role of the horse in Chinese history is not easy. From an early time it was prized for pulling the vehicles in which men of rank were transported and the chariots from which noble warriors fought. An entirely new phase was introduced, at some time not long before 300 B.C., when the technique of cavalry warfare, which had been diffused across Central Asia, reached the borders of China. The "barbarians" of the north and west suddenly became a much greater menace than before. The Chinese were compelled to bribe them, court them, and fight them. To fight them effectively the Chinese had to convert some of their soldiers into cavalry, and to have large numbers of horses with the qualities needed in a cavalry mount. Chinese attempts to breed such horses were seldom more than partially successful; thus it was commonly necessary to import large numbers of horses. In order both to obtain superior horses and to outflank their nomadic enemies, the Chinese expended great efforts, including some huge military campaigns, to establish and maintain political and commercial relations with a number of the peoples of Central Asia. At some periods this carried Chinese suzerainty far to the west and provided the conditions for China's early overland contacts with the Near East and with the Mediterranean world.

Not only foreign relations but China's internal history as well was affected by the problem of the cavalry horse. It gave an importance to the northern and western borders that produced phenomena having some intriguing parallels with those associated with "the frontier" in American history. The continuing need for buying horses, often from their enemies, had a deleterious effect upon China's economy. Yet in spite of great expend-

[104] Takigawa, *Shih-chi,* 110.3; Watson, *Records,* II, 155.
[105] Wang Yün, *Ch'iu-hsien Hsien-sheng Ta-ch'üan Wen-chi* [The Collected Papers of Wang Yün] (*Ssu-pu Pei-yao* ed.), 91.3b; Hsieh, *Yang-ma Shih,* 184.

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itures and strenuous efforts, the Chinese never became the equals of the nomads in the employment of the cavalry horse in war, and this is an important part of the reason why China was repeatedly conquered by nomadic horsemen. It seems entirely probable that the course of history would have run differently, in some significant respects, if the Chinese had never had to deal with the cavalry horse, or if they had been able to deal with it more effectively.

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Almain and Major: Conciliar Theory on the Eve of the Reformation

FRANCIS OAKLEY*

THE return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome, the disputed papal election of 1378, the subsequent protracted schism and the failure of repeated attempts to end it—these are the events that ensured the rise to prominence of that particular form of ecclesiastical constitutionalism that has come to be known as "Conciliar theory." At the heart of this theory lay the belief that the pope was not an absolute but rather a constitutional monarch, that he possessed a merely ministerial authority delegated to him for the good of the Church, and that the final authority in the Church lay, therefore, not with the pope but with the whole body of the faithful or with their representatives gathered together in a general council.

It was in response to this belief that the Councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414–1418) assembled to put an end to the schism, and that the conciliarists at the Council of Basel (1431–1449) defied the authority of a pontiff, the validity of whose title to office was uncontested. The failure of the conciliarists at Basel to make good their claims against the Pope and the subsequent condemnation of conciliar theory by Pius II led to a decline in its fortunes. But for two centuries or more the memory of these three councils continued to disturb the ecclesiastical consciousness of Europe, as also did the two great decrees promulgated at Constance—*Sacrosancta,* which asserted that general councils, acting alone, are superior in authority to the pope, and *Frequens,* which provided for the assembly of such councils at frequent and regular intervals.

In the last few years, stimulated perhaps by the quatercentenary of the Council of Trent and the convocation of the Second Vatican Council, there has been a notable quickening of interest in the conciliar movement, a growing realization of its importance both in the history of constitutional and political thinking and in the more arcane realm of ecclesiological speculation. This interest has focused largely, however, if not exclusively, upon

* The author of *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1964), Mr. Oakley is an assistant professor at Williams College. He read this paper in an abbreviated version at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society for Reformation Research in Philadelphia, December 28, 1963. It was also read in a somewhat different form to the New England Renaissance Conference at Smith College, April 24, 1964.

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problems of origins and upon the classical age of conciliar theory, that period dominated by the Councils of Constance and Basel, and it is now, perhaps, a suitable moment to draw attention to the later phase, to what may appropriately be called its silver age: that is, the years immediately preceding the Protestant Reformation.

October 1510 may serve as our point of departure. In that month, King Louis XII of France arrived at an understanding with several dissident members of the college of cardinals. His object in so doing was to make possible an extension of his antipapal offensive from the military and political into the ecclesiastical sphere. Earlier in the year, in an abrupt reversal of his earlier policy, Pope Julius II had thrown in his lot with the opponents of the French presence in Italy, and Louis now sought, with the help of the cardinals of the opposition, to encompass his ruin. The chief ecclesiastical weapon to which they turned was the general council, and it was the subsequent convocation in May 1511 of the hostile assembly that papalists derided as the conciliabulum of Pisa that drew conciliar theory once again, after more than a half-century's exile, into the realm of vital theological concern. Over the years, despite papal prohibition, the appeal to a future general council had by no means been forgotten. But like the appeal to a "better-informed" pope, it had come to be regarded, above all, as "a legitimate legal device." And while it would be improper to distinguish too sharply in this matter between canonistic and theological argumentation, it is not perhaps too surprising that much of the literature relating to it was the work of canonists rather than of theologians.

The opposition cardinals in 1511 made no break with this tradition. Having summoned a general council with the support of the French King but without papal consent, they strove hard to justify their extraordinary move. The arguments that they employed, however, were juridical rather than theological in texture, and it was only when Thomas de Vio—the Dominican master general and the future Cardinal Cajetan—entered the lists that the focus of the controversial literature became, once more, theological. Faced by the threat of a dissident council, Pope Julius II had turned to him for help, and on October 12, 1511, Cajetan published his *De comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii,* a work in which he strove to refute not only the conciliar theory itself but also the more modest claim that, in times of emergency, the cardinals, acting independently of the pope, had the right to convoke a general council, for this had been the principal juridical argument by which the dissident cardinals had sought to justify their action. "It was," Hubert Jedin had said, "a momentous event, when, in the person of Cajetan, a theologian—perhaps the greatest theologian of his time—

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intervened in the debate and pushed the canonists aside."[1] Certainly the Pisan fathers, now removed for French protection to Milan, seem to have seen it in this light, for early in 1512 they referred the book for examination to the University of Paris, as also did Louis XII himself. And the first of the tracts to which attention is to be given is the direct outcome of this chain of events.[2]

It is the *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae et conciliorum generalium.* Its author: Jacques Almain, the Parisian theologian to whom, despite his youth, the Faculty of Theology had delegated the task of refuting Cajetan. Its date of publication: spring 1512.[3]

Perhaps the most striking of Cajetan's arguments had been the one in which he had conceded that the Church, or a general council, did indeed have a role to play in the deposition of a heretical pope.[4] He had already denied that a pontiff who lapsed into heresy ceased *ipso facto* to be pope and had noted also that, in accordance with canon law, he had to be deposed.[5] But by what authority? He had been wholly unambiguous in his assertions that the pope, remaining pope, had no superior on earth, and he was now forced, willy-nilly, to argue that it was for an inferior power, the Universal

[1] Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent,* tr. Ernest Graf (2 vols., London, 1957–61), I, 114. For the juridical arguments hinging on "the idea of the Council as an ecclesiastical emergency measure," see *ibid.,* 93 ff.

[2] For this general background, see Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la réforme* (4 vols., Melun, 1905–46), II, 1–178; Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie: 1494–1517* (2d ed., Paris, 1953); Jedin, *History,* I, 1–165. For the French side, reference should also be made to Victor Martin, *Les origines du Gallicanisme* (2 vols., Paris, 1939), esp. II, and to Aimé-Georges Martimort, *Le Gallicanisme de Bossuet* (Paris, 1953), Chap. 1. For a discussion and listing of appeals to a general council after Pius II's prohibition, see Giovanni Picotti, "La pubblicazione e i primi effeti della 'Execrabilis' de Pio II," *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria,* XXXVII (1914), 33 ff.; Jedin, *History,* I, 67, n. 4, cites some further instances and notes that Picotti "does not adequately distinguish between the appeal to the Council as a legal procedure and the demand for a Council and its convocation." For a discussion of the conciliarist literature evoked by the Pisan crisis, see Josef Klotzner, *Kardinal Dominikus Jacobazzi und sein Konzilswerk: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der konziliaren Idee* (Rome, 1948), 220–86.

[3] Almain was born about 1480 and died in 1515. He was the author of numerous philosophical and theological works, but has attracted little attention and has been the subject of no detailed study. The most complete discussion of his life and works is that in Ricardo Garcia Villoslada, *La Universidad de Paris durante los Estudios de Francisco de Vitorio, O. P.: 1507–1522* (Rome, 1938), 165–79. His ecclesiological views are discussed briefly in Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme,* 550–51; in Vincent-Marie Pollet, "La doctrine de Cajetan sur l'Église," *Angelicum,* XII (No. 2, 1935), 229–34; and in Klotzner, *Jacobazzi,* 209 ff. Just before spring 1512 Almain had already indicated, and at some length, his adhesion to conciliar principles, and it is this, no doubt, that explains both his selection by the faculty and the speed with which he was able to complete his task. (See Jacques Almain, *De dominio naturali, civili et ecclesiastico,* in Johannis Gersonii, *Opera Omnia,* ed. Louis Ellies Dupin [5 vols., Antwerp, 1706], II, 971–76.)

[4] Cardinal Cajetan, *Tractatus primus de comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii,* Chap. xx, in Juan Tomas de Rocaberti, *Bibliotheca Maxima Pontificia* (21 vols., Rome, 1699), XIX, 474–76; cf. *ibid.,* Chap. xxii, 478. For a discussion of Cajetan's position, see Vincent-Marie Pollet, "La doctrine de Cajetan sur l'Église," *Angelicum,* XI (No. 4, 1934), 514–32, XII (No. 2, 1935), 223–44.

[5] Cajetan, *Tractatus primus,* Chap. xx, in Rocaberti, *Bibliotheca Maxima Pontificia,* XIX, 474, col. 2, where he cites D. 40, c.6 of the *Decretum.*

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Church or the general council, to fulfill this function. He did so by distinguishing between the papacy itself, the person of the pope, and the joining together of the two. The papacy itself is, of course, immediately from God; the person of the pope is from his father; but the third essential element, the conjunction of the two, is not the work of God (if we make an exception of the case of St. Peter), but rather of man, for it comes about by the undeniably human process of election. When, therefore, the Church or a general council acts to depose a heretical pope, it does not do so by virtue of any authority superior or even equal to his, for only Christ has such a superior authority, and that of the Church is, in fact, inferior.[6] It does so, rather, by virtue of a ministerial authority relating only to the third element: the conjunction of the person of the pope with the papal office. What man has joined together, man, it seems, can put asunder—or, at least, can do so in this particular case.

Now, in this precise form, this truly ingenious argument represents something of an innovation in the controversial literature relating to conciliar theory, a prolix literature which, by the sixteenth century, was somewhat less than outstanding for its originality.[7] In any case, it was perhaps the chief obstacle that Almain, in the course of his polemic, had to surmount. He might have done so by launching a frontal assault, crude and immediate, but preferred instead to embark on a slow, careful, flanking maneuver, which ended by leaving Cajetan's position exposed, isolated, and untenable.

He took as his point of departure the general question of the source of royal authority in secular political society.[8] It does not come immediately from God, nor from the prince himself, but from the whole community, which, having conferred it upon him, retains always the right to withdraw it again and to depose him if his rule tends not to the good of the community but to its destruction. Were things otherwise, the community as a whole would not have power sufficient to prevent its own ruin,[9] clearly an unthinkable state of affairs, for Almain does not deem it necessary to elaborate the point. One is prepared, then, for him to make an immediate

[6] Cajetan, *Tractatus primus, ibid.*, 475, col. 2, where he concludes: "alioquin essent duae supremae potestates in Ecclesia, et Christus non instituisset Ecclesiasticum regimen Monarchicum."

[7] The simpler distinction between the person of the pope and the papal office was, of course, an ancient one going back at least to the fourth century. (See Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* [New York, 1961], 37–38, 50, 102 ff.) Cajetan's conciliarist opponents did not question this distinction, but they went on to assert that the pope as pope could be subject to the judgment of a general council. Cajetan denied this, and his difficult argument is a somewhat desperate attempt to seek middle ground. (See Pollet, "Doctrine de Cajetan," 224–29.)

[8] Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, Chap. 1, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 977C–979C; cf. his *De dominio naturali, ibid.*, 961A–965B.

[9] Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae, ibid.*, 978C–D.

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inference to conditions in the ecclesiastical polity, and it comes as something of a surprise when he turns, instead, and devotes his whole second chapter to distinguishing sharply between civil society and the Church. The Church is not merely a political body, he says, but the mystical body of Christ.[10] It is ordained not merely to a natural goal, but to the supernatural end of eternal salvation, and its power is neither natural nor of human institution. It is, instead, from God alone, and, exceeding therefore all human authority, cannot be instituted, destroyed, or even restricted by man.[11]

The relevance, then, of Almain's opening remarks about civil authority is left somewhat obscure, but only, it should be noted, for the time being. They constitute, as it were, a dialectical time bomb, the fuse of which continues to smolder unnoticed until a later and more telling point in the discussion. Meanwhile,[12] he moves closer to the heart of the matter by positing two related propositions. In the first place, citing the usual Biblical texts, he states that the supreme ecclesiastical power was conferred directly by Christ on Peter, the first Supreme Pontiff.[13] In the second place, he says that "Christ conferred this power directly on the Church, i.e., if we take the Church to mean the body (*collectio*) of all the faithful, or the body of all the prelates, greater or lesser, who succeed the Apostles and disciples, or [again] the general council representing the Church."[14]

So far, so good. But this being so, it must now be asked how, in the matter of this power, the Church stands vis-à-vis the pope. Is their relationship one of equality or inequality? And if the latter, is it one of superiority or inferiority? Note that when we ask these questions it is immaterial

[10] *Ibid.*, 979C. This reference to the Church as the mystical body should not be taken to indicate that Almain did not think of it at all in political or corporational terms. By the later Middle Ages, as Lubac and others have shown, the term *corpus mysticum* had lost its original liturgical or sacramental connotations and had fallen victim to a progressive secularization. This is reflected in Almain as in earlier conciliar thinkers. Thus, when speaking of the powers of the Church, he distinguishes, as did others, between that over the *Corpus Christi verum* (that is, the Eucharist) and that over the *Corpus Christi mysticum* (that is, the Church as a juridical entity). (Almain, *Expositio . . . de potestate ecclesiastica et laica, ibid.*, 1068A; cf. Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: L'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Âge* [Paris, 1944], esp. Chap. v, 117–37.)

[11] Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae,* Chap. 11, in Gerson, *Opera,* ed. Dupin, II, 979D–981A.

[12] He first pointed out that there is considerable disagreement among the learned concerning the extent of the plenitude of this ecclesiastical power, and then he adopted a mediating position. (Chaps. III, IV, V, *ibid.*, 981A–987A.) Thus he argues that while, on the one hand, this plenitude of power is not to be used in a manner detrimental to the rights of secular princes, neither is it to be regarded as extending only to sins against the sacraments or the articles of faith (as opposed to sins against the natural law), since it includes, for example, the right to compel those who have sold at unjust prices to make restitution. (*Ibid.*, 985C, 986C–D.)

[13] Chap. VI, *ibid.*, 987B–C.

[14] "Secunda propositio: Christus hanc Potestatem immediate contulit Ecclesiae, capiendo Ecclesiam pro collectione omnium fidelium; sive pro collectione omnium Praelatorum, majorum et minorum, qui succedunt Apostolis et Discipulis; sive pro Concilio Generali Ecclesiam repraesentante." (*Ibid.*, 987C.)

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whether we have in mind the Universal Church or the general council representing it, at least so long as we do not think of the council as including the pope himself, for he may be unable to attend, or, if able, may refuse to do so.[15] And now, Almain adds, we touch at last the problem that is the principal concern of the whole tract,[16] and, despite Cajetan, the answer is that the Church, or the general council representing it, *is* superior in power of jurisdiction to the pope.[17] Christ may have given the keys to Peter, the Supreme Pontiff, but he received them only "as a sign and figure of the Church," and they were conferred, therefore, rather upon the Church itself than upon Peter.[18] This, after all, was the teaching of the Councils of Constance and Basel,[19] and the words of Saints Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome should be enough to dispel any illusion that it was a new doctrine at that time.[20] In any case—and at this point the fuse burns out, and we hear, as it were, a muffled explosion—if power over the Church had been conferred upon the pope in such a way that the whole Church could not punish him even if he exercised it in a manner conducive not to its well-being but to its destruction, then the ecclesiastical polity would not have been as well ordained as, in the first chapter, we saw the civil polity to be.[21]

This was clearly an unimaginable situation, and Almain proceeds at once to dismiss the multiple arguments with which Cajetan had sought to bolster his own mistaken position. Thus, for example, the assertion that the whole Church or general council is superior to the pope does not entail, as Cajetan suggests, the belief that the constitution of the Church is an aristocratic or even a democratic one, in which the whole authority resides in no single man. At this point we again feel delayed reverberations from Almain's opening argument for then, as he now reminds us, he had insisted that a political society is not said to be monarchical (that is, to be a *politia regalis*) because it is ruled by one man who is superior in authority to the whole community, but simply because he is superior in authority to any other man in that community, which is not the case in an aristocratic or more democratic polity. And the power that this man possesses is the power of the community, a power wielded in place of the whole people, which, under normal circumstances, cannot assemble together.[22] Nor, again, is it proper

[15] Chap. VII, *ibid.*, 989B–C.
[16] *Ibid.*, 989B.
[17] ". . . Pono hanc Propositionem contra Magistrum Thomam, cap. 17 sui tractatus: Ecclesia sive Concilium Generale est in hac Potestate [jurisdictionis] Summo Pontifice superior." (*Ibid.*, 989C; cf. *ibid.*, 992A.)
[18] *Ibid.*, 990D–991A.
[19] *Ibid.*, 989C.
[20] *Ibid.*, 989D–992.
[21] *Ibid.*, 991C–D; cf. Chap. I, *ibid.*, 978D.
[22] "Nec sequitur, ut infert idem de Vio, quod regimen Ecclesiae sit Aristocraticum, *seu populare*, in qua tota authoritas apud unum non residet: nam non dicitur regimen regale, in

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to conclude that to deny to the pope a power superior to that of the Church or a general council is to believe that there are two plenitudes of power, for that would indeed be impossible. It is simply to assert that there is one plenitude of power, but that it is in the Church more fully than in the pope, in that it extends there to some actions of which the pope is incapable.[23] Of these, three examples must suffice.

In the first place, it pertains not to the pope but to the Church, or to the general council representing it, to determine in an authoritative or judicial—and not merely, that is to say, in a scholarly fashion—[24] what pertains to the faith. For popes can and have erred in matters of faith, in their official capacity as well as in their own personal belief, whereas from this danger the Holy Spirit protects the general council, representing truly, as it does, that council of apostles and disciples which was the recipient of Christ's promise that He would be with us all days even to the consummation of the world.[25]

In the second place, although the pope determines when papal elections will take place, and in what form, the elective power itself does not proceed from the pope. The plenitude of power was in the Church before it was in the Supreme Pontiff, and, indeed, before there was any such pontiff. If Christ had not made Peter pope then the Church could have done so. It is not the pope, therefore, who gives to the cardinals the right to elect his successor; they have it instead from the Church itself, or from the general council representing it.[26]

In the third place, the Church, unlike the pope, of course, has the power of deposing a Supreme Pontiff.[27] This is the really important point, and, when we reach it, Almain's long flanking movement is complete. Cajetan's ingenious distinctions between the papacy, the pope as a person, and the

quo sit unicus toto residuo Superior (quia tunc non esset in civilibus regimen aliquod regale) sed quia est unicus (quolibet altero Superior) qui totius populi vices gerit, cui data est Potestas exercendi Jurisdictionis (habitualiter existentis in populo) vice populi, qui regulariter congregari non potest, ut ex antedictis constat satis." (Chap. VIII, *ibid.*, 996C; cf. Chap. I, *ibid.*, 979A, 979C, where he contrasts with *politia regalis, politia timocratica aut aristocratica* [italics mine]. The same is true of parallel texts in other of his works. (Cf. Almain, *De dominio naturali, ibid.*, 966D, 970A; *id., Expositio, ibid.*, 1024D, 1025D, 1027D, 1075A–C.) But note how he defines "timocracy": "Aristocratica, est quando pauci dominantur, ad utilitatem Communitatis. Timocratica, quando valde multi dominantur, ad utilitatem communem." (*Ibid.*, 1025D.) He is consistent throughout in his rejection of the idea that the Church is anything other than a *politia regalis*.

[23] ". . . in Ecclesia, Concilio, et Papa, non sunt diversae Potestates, sed est eadem plenitudo Potestatis; non possunt enim esse duae plenitudines, et hoc est rationabile. . . . Ergo, est ibi una Potestas . . . quamvis in Ecclesia Potestas illa ad aliquem actum extendatur, ad quem non extenditur in Papa. . . ." (Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae, ibid.*, 997 B–C.)

[24] ". . . hic enim non loquimur de decisione, seu determinatione doctrinali, quae ad unumquemque virum peritum spectare dignoscitur; sed de authoritativa et judiciali." (Chap. X, *ibid.*, 1001A.)

[25] *Ibid.*, 1001A–1003C.

[26] Chap. IX, *ibid.*, 998D–999A, 1000B–D; cf. Chap. VII, *ibid.*, 993B–C.

[27] Chap. VIII, *ibid.*, 997C.

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conjunction of the two had been necessitated by his wish to maintain, along with his assertion of the jurisdictional supremacy of pope over Church, the seemingly incompatible canonistic teaching based on D. 40, c.6 of Gratian's *Decretum* to the effect that a heretical pope could be judged by the Church. In any other context those distinctions would surely have been as redundant as they were implausible. It is natural, then, that, having devoted considerable effort to establishing the jurisdictional inferiority of the pope to the Church or general council, Almain should encounter little difficulty in demolishing Cajetan's exposed and crumbling defenses. It was easy enough to concede that a pope guilty even of open heresy did not *ipso facto* cease to be pope. It was also easy to agree that it was for the general council to depose him, but this time because it represented the Church and had authoritative power over him.[28] And it was just as easy to go still further and to claim that Christ had given the Church and general council representing it "authoritative power" to act as ordinary judge of the pope, not only in such cases of heresy, but in every case of notorious sin. If He had not done so, then the Church would not be as well ordained as "the purely natural and civil polity," which, if its ruler abuses his position, has the power to deprive him and even to punish him with death. Christ did not deprive the Church of this natural power, and not only can it depose a pope who is guilty of notorious crimes against its well-being, but can also go on to deprive him of his life, if, after his deposition, he persists in his wrongdoing.[29]

There remains, then, only the important question—a traditional one in conciliar thinking but, in 1512, no less topical for all that—as to how a general council can be summoned if the pope is unwilling to do so. Almain admits that by divine law it pertains in an authoritative manner to no one but the pope himself. But he stresses the *no one,* for by it he means, not "no authority," but simply "no single man." An existing council, he points out, can certainly decree that a future council should assemble at a certain time and place, and those who, like Pierre d'Ailly, say that the cardinals by the institution of Christ succeed to the place of the Apostles in the hierarchy, go on to claim that they, too, have the right to convoke a council, for it was, after all, the Apostles and not Peter alone who summoned the first Council of Jerusalem.[30] Almain himself, however, refrains from endorsing this point of view and concerns himself instead with what happens if both pope and

[28] Chap. XI, *ibid.*, 1005A–1007C.

[29] Chap. XII, *ibid.*, esp. 1008D–1010A. In note 1010B–C he draws the further conclusion that the pope can be deposed even without guilt (for example, in order to promote the unity of the Church), or that a council can pass laws to limit his actions, and so forth.

[30] *Ibid.*, 1011C–D; see below, note 55.

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cardinals refuse to convoke a council when one is urgently needed for the correction of evident abuses. His answer is that any particular church, to which the necessity of assembling a council becomes evident, should make this fact known to the remaining churches, and, by naming a safe place accessible to all, should make possible a solution. When this is done, the remaining churches must consent in the arrangement and assemble together, not because of any superior authority in the initiating church (for it has none), but rather because to do so is in accord with the divine precept.[31] And when, in this fashion, the representatives of the particular churches assemble, the authority of the entire Church resides in them. Indeed—and here, although Almain does not mention Pisa, he is getting very close to home—if some particular churches contumaciously hold aloof and do not send representatives, the authority of the entire Church still resides in the assembly, at least in so far as is necessary to meet the pressing dangers of the time.[32]

So much for Almain. The second tract requires less attention. It is the *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii supra pontificem maximum,* not properly speaking, indeed, a tract at all, but simply part of a commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew that has since been extracted, printed separately, and launched on an independent career of its own. Its author was John Major, first teacher and then colleague of Almain. He was a Scotsman and was certainly the most eminent Scholastic theologian at Paris in the early years of the sixteenth century, but he has been remembered in the English-speaking world most of all as a pioneer historian of Great Britain and as a teacher of the Scottish reformer and humanist, George Buchanan.[33]

[31] "Quaelibet Ecclesia particularis, ad cujus notitiam pervenit congregandi Concilium necessitas, debet ceteris Ecclesiis necessitatem congregandi manifestare, et sic denunciative congregare . . .; et ista manifestatione facta, ceterae Ecclesiae tenentur consentire et convenire primae, non virtute Praecepti Primae, cum in eas nullam habeat Jurisdictionem; sed virtute Praecepti divini. . . ." (*Ibid.,* 1012A.)

[32] "Si aliquae particulares Ecclesiae, insinuatione tali facta, ad certum conveniant locum, ceteris contumaciter renuentibus convenire, in illo, aut in alio quocumque securo loco apud convenientes, totius Ecclesiae residet authoritas, *saltem quantum ad procurandam necessitatem occurrentem* [italics mine]." (*Ibid.,* 1012B–C.)

[33] John Major (1469–1550) taught at Glasgow, Paris, and St. Andrews. He was a prolific writer, his works ranging over history, logic, ethics, metaphysics, and theology. Principal among them are his *History of Greater Britain,* and his commentaries in the *Sentences* of Lombard and on the Gospels. The best biographical sketch is still that by Aeneas J. G. Mackay, in the introduction to *John Major's History of Greater Britain,* tr. Archibald Constable (Edinburgh, 1892), xxix ff. But it should now be read in conjunction with John Durkan, "John Major: After 400 Years," *Innes Review,* I (No. 2, 1950), 131–39, and James H. Burns, "New Light on John Major," *ibid.,* V (No. 2, 1954), 83–100. The most recent bibliography of Major's works is in John Durkan, "The School of John Major: Bibliography," *ibid.,* I (No. 2, 1950), 140–57. His views on international law and politics have attracted some attention in recent years. (See, e.g., Vladimir E. Grabar, *Le droit politique et le droit international dans les Questions de Jean Mair sur les Sentences de Pierre Lombard* [Kiev, 1927].) My article, "From Constance to 1688: The Political Thought of John Major and George Buchanan," *Journal of British Studies,* I (No. 2, 1962), 12–19, ventures upon a preliminary analysis of his political theory, and Burns is engaged upon a more comprehensive study. For a brief

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His tract appeared only in 1518, in the wake of the Franco-papal concordat of 1516 and several years after the collapse of the conciliabulum of Pisa, but it would not seem altogether improper to group it with Almain's as reflecting the strong reaction of the Parisian theologians to Cajetan's attack on conciliar theory, and, thereby, on the theological Gallicanism to which they clung with such tenacity.[34]

Two years before he published this tract, when commenting on the fourth book of Peter Lombard, Major had been unwilling to express any opinion on the relative superiority or inferiority of pope to general council.[35] Even now, such hesitations are still somewhat evident. He is a little apologetic about dealing with the matter at all[36] and notes that there are two opinions on it: the one, that the pope is above the council, being espoused by the Thomists and professed above all at Rome, and the other opposing point of view being held by his own University of Paris ever since the days of the Council of Constance, held so firmly, indeed, that those who dissented from it were compelled to recant.[37]

These preliminaries disposed of, Major is quite straightforward in his conclusions. A general council he defines as "a congregation [of representatives] from every hierarchical rank which it concerns, convoked by those whose duty it is, and assembled in order to deal according to the common intention with matters pertaining to the public utility of Christendom." Such a council, "properly assembled, and representing the Universal Church, is superior to the Supreme Pontiff" (the Church in this instance, of course, being considered to exclude that pontiff).[38] To this conclusion he attaches

general discussion of his philosophy and theology, see Garcia Villoslada, *Universidad de Paris*, 127–64.

[34] It appeared in his *In Mattheum ad literam expositio* (Paris, 1518), fols. lxviii r–lxxii r, and is reprinted in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1131A–1145B. Matthew Spinka, who has published a translation of this tract in his *Advocates of Reform* (London, 1953), 175–84, incorrectly claims (pp. 105, 175), that it was written "after the Reformation had begun." The date he gives is 1529, but the tract does not, in fact, appear in Major's second commentary on Matthew, which was published in that year. (John Major, *In quatuor Evangelia expositiones* [Paris, 1529]; for the concordat, see Jules Thomas, *Le Concordat de 1516* [3 vols., Paris, 1919].)

[35] John Major, *In quartum sententiarum* (Paris, 1516), fol. clix; reprinted as *Disputatio de Statu et Potestate Ecclesiae*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1121B: "Petrus, ex institutione Christi, est institutus Apostolorum vertex et caput, et supra quemlibet alium, sive particularem Ecclesiam. In praesentiarum enim de praeeminentia seu superioritate, inter Maximum Pontificem et Universale Concilium, loqui non propono." (Cf. Major, *Disputatio de potestate papae in rebus temporalibus, ibid.*, 1150B.)

[36] "Ego autem licet possum ab hac quaestione declinare, tamen cum ita patenter incidat in caput quod tracto, vix possum dissimulare. Dicam tamen aliqua, quae judicio eorum ad quos spectat, relinquo examinanda. . . ." (Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii, ibid.*, 1132B.)

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] "Concilium . . . est Congregatio ex omni statu hierarchico, quorum interest, convocata ab iis quibus incumbit, ad tractandum communi intentione, de utilitate publica Christiana. . . . Concilium rite congregatum, Universalem Ecclesiam repraesentans, est super Maximum Pontificem, et capio Ecclesiam, pro Ecclesia ab eo separata." (*Ibid.*, 1132C.)

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many of the corollaries, parallel assertions, and supporting arguments familiar to us from Almain, notably those concerning the convocation of a council under emergency conditions,[39] and its right to judge and depose a pope for heresy and other notorious crimes.[40] Again, like Almain, he devotes considerable effort to refuting arguments opposed to his own position, many of them drawn from Cajetan.[41] Thus, for example, he rejects out of hand the idea that conciliar supremacy means that the Church has an aristocratic constitution rather than that monarchical constitution which, he says, Aristotle proclaimed to be the best. "Some people maintain that the ecclesiastical polity is a mixed one, but I," he asserts, "do not say so."[42]

A comparison of these two tracts would not be without its interest, written as they were by close associates and within a few years of one another. Major seems, for instance, to have been a somewhat less eager conciliarist than Almain: his arguments are formulated less precisely;[43] he distinguishes less firmly between the Church and the secular polity; and, a related point, he leans much less heavily for support upon canon law and the canonists than upon extended analogies drawn from contemporary secular constitutional practice.[44] But it will be more instructive to concentrate on the dominant elements they have in common and to ask how these works, products of the silver age of conciliar theory, compare with the literature of the classical period.

Now what such a comparison most strikingly reveals is the element of

[39] Thus, though it normally pertains to the pope to convoke a general council, if, in times of evident need, he is unable or unwilling, then the Church itself has from God the authority to do so. (*Ibid.*, 1137C–1138B.)

[40] *Ibid.*, 1134D–1135D. Thus, he concludes: "Concilium ergo potest deponere Papam, in casu haeresis, et in omni casu quo pertinaciter Ecclesiam scandalizat incorrigibiliter et contumaciter." (*Ibid.*, 1135C.) Note his related assertion that, unlike the pope, a legitimately assembled council cannot fall into error on matters of faith. (*Ibid.*, 1142B–1143A.)

[41] Note that he devotes much less attention than Almain to refuting Cajetan's distinction between the papacy, the pope as a person, and the conjunction of the two. (*Ibid.*, 1135A–B.)

[42] He concludes: "Aliqui dicunt Politiam Ecclesiasticam esse mixtam, sed non sic dico. Ad argumentum nego sequelam, et nego quod Politia Ecclesiastica non sit optima, et quod non sit Regalis. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 1141A–B.) Major asserts in several other places that the Church is a *politia regalis*. See *ibid.*, 1135D and 1139D, where he cites as one of the features that distinguishes the Church from the secular polity the fact that it cannot change its monarchical constitution into an aristocratic or "timocratic" one. (Cf. his *Disputatio de Statu*, *ibid.*, 1122A.)

[43] Thus, though he mentions the cardinals, he nowhere makes clear the exact way in which a general council is to be summoned if the pope is unable or unwilling to act. (See Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, *ibid.*, 1138A–B.)

[44] Thus, speaking of the pope, he says: "concedo regulariter, et communiter, quod est Rector Universalis Ecclesiae, et caput Ecclesiae . . .; hoc tamen stat in casu particulari, quod tota Ecclesia et Concilium ipsam repraesentans, Papa secluso, est super ipsum, ut quando est collectum. Exemplum in simili: Franciscus dicitur communiter Rex totius Regni Franciae, et non modo est super unam Provinciam Galliae; sed super totam categorematice, non obstante quod praecipua pars est super ipsum, a qua authoritatem habet, quae non potest tollere ab eo Regnum suum, sine rationabili et arduissima causa. Sic Romanus Pontifex est regulariter super totam Ecclesiam . . . sed habitualiter et virtualiter Ecclesia est super ipsum. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 1139B–C; for further comparisons, see my article, "From Constance to 1688," 12–19.)

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continuity. Despite the lapse of a full century since the termination of the Great Schism, despite the defeat of the conciliar movement at Basel, despite even the subsequent papalist reaction and repeated papal condemnations, what we see in these tracts of Almain and Major, rigorously shaped, surrounded by many of the old arguments and buttressed by the addition of some new ones, is a statement of that strict conciliar theory which, as we now realize,[45] had its roots deep in the thinking of decretists and decretalists alike, and had reached full stature during the dismal years of schism after 1378. At first glance, there is certainly no sign of palpable decay: the roots are still engaged in a life-giving soil; the sap still rises to the branches. Both men admit that they are heirs to a continuous tradition of conciliar thinking at Paris going back to the days of Constance and Basel,[46] and Major might well have added that he himself was also heir to a similar Scottish tradition, but one so little known today that it has escaped even the sweep of Jedin's comprehensive survey.[47] Both men, again, were given places in the pantheon of the theological Gallicans second only to D'Ailly and Gerson, the predecessors to whom they were so often indebted;[48] both were repeatedly cited in the Gallican literature of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[49] Nor was their influence limited to Gallican circles. Edmond Richer's reprinting in 1606 of their ecclesiastico-political writings, and the subsequent oath of allegiance controversy in England and France, focused the attention of political thinkers upon them, and their views are cited and discussed by a series of English and Scottish political writers ranging from David Owen

[45] See Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1955).

[46] Almain, *Expositio,* in Gerson, *Opera,* ed. Dupin, II, 1070; for Major, see *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii, ibid.,* 1132B.

[47] Some years ago, James H. Baxter, "Four 'New' Medieval Scottish Authors," *Scottish Historical Review,* XXV (Jan. 1928), 90–97, drew attention to the Scottish conciliarist, Thomas Livingstone, who was active at Basel and later became an associate of Nicholas of Cusa, and claimed him as "a direct and essential link in the chain which connects Buchanan and Major back to d'Ailly and Gerson." In recent years, however, it has become clear that Livingstone was far from being the sole Scottish conciliarist before Major, and it is to the credit of James H. Burns to have given us a glimpse of the strength of conciliar ideas in fifteenth-century Scotland. (See his "John Ireland and 'The Meroure of Wyssdome,'" *Innes Review,* VI [No. 2, 1955], 77–98, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle* [Glasgow, 1962], and "The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review,* XLII [Oct. 1963], 89–104.)

[48] This indebtedness was underlined by their frequent citations of D'Ailly and Gerson. (See e.g., Gerson, *Opera,* ed. Dupin, II, 980, 1011, 1015, 1062, 1078, 1136, 1144, 1150.) All four were connected with the College of Navarre. (See Jean de Launoy, *Academia Parisiensis Illustrata* [2 vols., Paris, 1682], I, 93, 97, 208, 400–401.)

[49] They were most notably cited by Edmond Richer (d. 1631), whose *Libellus de ecclesiastica et politica potestate* (Paris, 1660) embodies extensive citations and quotations from their works. He reprinted their conciliar tracts in his *Vindiciae Doctrinum Majorum scholae Parisiensis* (Cologne, 1683), and also in his 1606 edition of the works of Gerson. (*Joannis Gersonii . . . Opera* [Paris, 1606], Pt. I, 675–894; see also Bishop Bossuet, *Appendix ad defensionem declarationis Cleri Gallicani,* Bk. I, Chap. VIII, in *Oeuvres complètes de Bossuet* [12 vols., Paris, 1836], IX, 533–34. Louis Ellies Dupin [d. 1719] republished their tracts in his 1706 edition of Gerson's complete works.)

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in 1610 to Samuel Rutherford in 1644, and including, among others, James I himself.[50] Thus in 1644 John Maxwell, the royalist, linked with conciliar theory and practice the scandalous Puritan claim that the people had the right to resist tyranny even with force, and having cited William of Ockham, John of Paris, John Gerson, and Almain—all of them, he noted, "prior to Luther or Calvin"—argued that "our Rabbies then have drawn these Doctrines out of their polluted cisterns."[51] Not simply a wild attempt to smear such resistance theories with the taint of popery, for John Ponet, George Buchanan, Theodore Beza, and the author of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*—in other words, the most famous and influential among the Protestant monarchomachs of the sixteenth century—all of these appealed for support to conciliar theory and practice.[52] Ponet notes that "at one clappe, in the conseil holden at Constance . . . were three popes popped out of their places," and his conclusion is typical. "If," he says, "it be lawful for the body of the churche to depose and punishe a Pope . . . how muche the more by the like argumentes, reasones, and authoritie, maie Emperours, Kings, princes, and other governours, abusing their office, be deposed and removed out of their places and offices, bi the body or state of the Realme or commonwealthe."[53]

It would be hard, then, to overemphasize the element of continuity. If, as Harold Laski once said, "the road from Constance to 1688 is a direct

[50] Much of the polemical literature relating to the controversy itself is not readily accessible, but I have been able to consult the following: David Owen, *Herod and Pilate Reconciled* (3d ed., London, 1663), 39 (previously appeared under the same title in 1610, and again in 1643 under the significant title *Puritano-Jesuitismus*); John Barclay, *Pietas sive publicae pro Regibus et Principibus et privatae pro Guil. Barclaio parente vindicae adversus Bellarminum*, in Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia s. Romani Imperii* (3 vols., Frankfurt, 1611–14), III, 1104, 1131; Roger Widrington, *Apologia Cardinalis Bellarmini pro jure Principum*, *ibid.*, 691, 707–709, 752; *Quaestio bipartita in Georgium Blacuellum Angliae Archipresbyterum*, *ibid.*, 591, 602–605; William Warmington, *A Moderate Defence of the Oath of Allegiance* ([n.p.,] 1612), 88, 98; Robert Burhill, *De potestate regia, et usurpatione papali* (Oxford, Eng., 1613), 193–215; Roger Widrington, *A Cleare, Sincere and Modest Confutation* ([n.p.,] 1616), 33–34, 39, 75–76, 88, 96, 111, 124, 129; James I, *A Remonstrance for the Right of Kings*, in *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 202–204; William Prynne, *The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms* (London, 1643), Pt. 3, 136, 144, and Appendix, 101, 161; John Maxwell, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas* (Oxford, Eng., 1644), 14–16; Samuel Rutherford, *Lex, Rex: The Law and the Prince* (London, 1644), 50, 418, 449.

[51] Maxwell, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, 14–16; cf. for a similar statement, Owen, *Herod and Pilate Reconciled*, 39.

[52] John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise of Politicke Power* (Strassburg, 1556), 60, 102–106. A facsimile edition is printed in Winthrop S. Hudson, *John Ponet (1516?–1556): Advocate of Limited Monarchy* (Chicago, 1942); George Buchanan, *De jure regni apud Scotos*, in his *Opera omnia* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1715), I, para. 8, 30, 36; Theodore Beza, *Du droit des Magistrats*, in *Mémoires de l'Estat sous Charles IX*, ed. Simon Goulart (3 vols., Meidelbourg, 1577), II, 777; *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos . . . Being a Treatise Written in Latin and French by Junius Brutus, and Translated Out of Both into English* (London, 1689), 142. They cite no individual conciliarists, but it should not escape our attention that Major was Buchanan's teacher, certainly at St. Andrews and perhaps at Paris, or that Ponet was acquainted with at least one of his works. For this whole issue, see my "From Constance to 1688," 1–31; cf. Hudson, *Ponet*, 172.

[53] *Ibid.*, [103]–[105].

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one,"[54] then the works of Almain and Major must surely stand as prominent signposts on the way. It is important, nevertheless, that one should not overlook the discontinuities evident in their works. Some of them, as, for instance, the lack of concern with the fundamental distinction between the particular Roman Church and the Church Universal, or the infrequency of appeals to *epikeia* (or equity), can be noted only in passing. But there are two matters on which the silence of these tracts is more revealing. The first concerns the position of the cardinals in the Church; the second concerns the problem of reform in head and members.

Major has next to nothing to say about the position of the cardinals, and Almain, it will be recalled, though he notes that predecessors like D'Ailly believed the cardinals to have succeeded by the institution of Christ to the place of the Apostles in the hierarchy, betrays no evident sympathy with this belief. Is this surprising? Perhaps a little, for when D'Ailly spoke in that way he had been arguing not merely that the cardinals had the right to convoke a council if the pope refused to do so at a time of evident necessity, but that as successors of what he calls the "Sacred College or Senate of the Apostles" it was also their *right* to assist the pope as his principal counselors and cooperators in the rule of the Universal Church. And he had cited the alleged *professio fidei* of Boniface VIII to prove that before his consecration the Pope had to promise that he would wield his ministerial power "with the advice, consent, love and remembrance of the cardinals."[55] Now this was clearly to claim for the cardinals a constitutional role in the government of the Church, and though Constance was "a victory for the Conciliar idea over the oligarchy of the cardinals," the same could hardly be said of Basel.[56] Nor was D'Ailly himself alone among the earlier conciliarists in seeking to graft on to the main trunk of conciliar theory ideas deriving from the older oligarchic tradition of the Roman *Curia*. This tradition had had its origins in the *de facto* share increasingly taken by the cardinals from the twelfth century onward in the day-to-day government of the Church; it had been strengthened by the wide measure of financial autonomy that they enjoyed in the years after 1289;[57] it had received explicit theoretical formulation in the glosses of the decretalists Hostiensis

[54] Harold Laski, "Political Theory in the Later Middle Ages," *Cambridge Medieval History* (8 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1911–36), VIII, 638.

[55] See D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate,* in Gerson, *Opera,* ed. Dupin, II, 929-30, 933.

[56] Jedin, *History,* I, 78 ff.

[57] In this year, Nicholas IV, by the bull *Coelestis altitudo,* apportioned to the cardinals one-half of the revenues that the Roman Church had at the time. (See William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* [2 vols., New York, 1934], I, 26–27; for the oligarchic tradition in general, see Johann B. Sägmuller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle* [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896], 170 ff., 215 ff.; Tierney, *Foundations,* 68 ff., 180 ff., 220 ff.; Jedin, *History,* I, 76 ff.)

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and Joannes Monachus, who, taking as their premise the idea that "Pope and cardinals together formed a single corporate body subject to the normal rules of corporation law,"[58] had maintained that the cardinals share therefore with the pope the exercise of the *plenitudo potestatis*.

Despite their apparent incompatibilty, these curialist arguments eventually came to be synthesized with the more "democratic" views of the conciliarists to produce, at the end of the Great Schism, in Cardinal Franciscus Zabarella's *Tractatus de schismate*, a coherently articulated view of the corporative structure of the Church.[59] The *De potestate regia et papali*, written a century earlier by John of Paris,[60] marks a milestone in the tortuous route to this synthesis, and in 1416 D'Ailly had advanced the process a stage further. His arguments on the subject are not as precise as Zabarella's, but they are very close to them in intention, unmistakably draw their inspiration from the same canonistic sources,[61] and are of particular relevance in the context of the present discussion. For he links them with his assertion that the best constitution for the Church would be a "mixed" one in which the papal monarchy would be tempered with aristocratic and democratic elements, in the form, respectively, of the college of cardinals and of frequent general councils.[62] This is of some importance because Almain and Major, though they may have little or nothing to say about the position of the cardinals as such, and though they are both very much influenced by D'Ailly, are, nevertheless, quite explicit in their rejection of the idea that the Church has anything other than a strictly monarchical constitution (*politia regalis*), whether it be democratic, aristocratic, or even a "mixed" one.[63]

This does not mean that the old curialist tradition was no longer alive in the early sixteenth century, but it does mean that it was no longer the conciliarists who were espousing it. Nor is this surprising. D'Ailly's own adoption of these oligarchic views itself seems to have been less a function of his conciliarism than an outcome of his elevation to the cardinalate,[64]

[58] Tierney, *Foundations*, 184.

[59] See Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism* (London, 1948), 191–231; Tierney, *Foundations*, 220–37.

[60] See *Tractatus de potestate*, Chap. XIX, in *Jean de Paris et l'ecclésiologie du XIII^e siècle*, ed. Jean Leclercq (Paris, 1942), 236–37; for a discussion of the tract, see Tierney, *Foundations*, 157–78.

[61] For Zabarella, see his *Tractatus de schismate*, in Simon Schardius, *De jurisdictione authoritate et praeeminentia imperiale ac potestate ecclesiastica* (Basel, 1516), 698–702; for D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiatica potestate*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, esp. 933. Both men speak of the cardinals as being *partes corporis papae*, and both cite in support of their oligarchic theories the glosses of Guido de Baysio and Joannes Monachus.

[62] *Ibid.*, 946.

[63] See above, notes 22 and 42.

[64] In his *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis*, which he wrote in 1402–1403 when he was a mere bishop, D'Ailly did not hesitate in two places to attack the role of the cardinals. (See the edition in my *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition*

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and if these views now failed to recommend themselves to those who embraced his conciliar doctrines, they continued, nevertheless, to recommend themselves to those who did not, and notably to several members of the sacred college. No lesser a person than the papalist Domenico de'Domenichi noted his agreement with them,[65] and they were handed on to generations of curialists by that dean of papalists, Juan de Torquemada himself, for much of the discussion of the role of the cardinalate in his great *Summa* is taken verbatim, though, naturally, without acknowledgment, from D'Ailly's *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*.[66]

What we are witnessing, therefore, in the apparent rejection by Almain and Major of the old curialist oligarchic tradition, is the separation from it of the conciliar theories with which it had enjoyed a fleeting, though by no means uneasy, association. It need hardly be said that there is no similar rejection of the importance of reforming the Church in head and members, the most pressing problem of the day and an objective intimately connected with the conciliar theorizing of the classical period.[67] And yet, writing on the very eve of the Reformation, Major mentions reform but briefly, and Almain, not at all.[68] This oversight can hardly be explained in purely personal terms. Both men spent their formative years at the *Collège de Montaigu* under the rigorous rule of the Flemish reformer John Standonck, and there is no reason to think that they themselves were necessarily lukewarm in the matter of reform.[69] The reason for their silence is a more fundamental one. It springs, it may be suggested, not from their personal predilections, but from the essentially Gallican context in which their conciliar thinking had been formed. And it reflects above all a fact that is far too easy to overlook: namely, that in the early years of the sixteenth century the conciliar theory, despite its previous history, was becoming increasingly ir-

[New Haven, Conn., and London, 1964], Appendix III, 322–23, 328–29.) But when, as a cardinal, he came to rework the third part of the *De materia* into the *Tractatus super reformatione ecclesiae*, he omitted the first of the passages in question and substituted for the second a condemnation of the opinion that the cardinalate should be abolished. (See Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 908 [The relevant passage is reprinted in my *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, Appendix V, 346–47.].)

[65] See Jedin, *History*, I, 83, n. 1.

[66] Torquemada never mentions D'Ailly's name, but he reproduces without acknowledgment much of D'Ailly's argument concerning the role of the cardinals in the government of the Church. (Cf. Juan de Torquemada, *Summa de ecclesia* [Rome, 1489], Bk. I, Chaps. LXXX–LXXXI, with D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 929 ff.)

[67] Ray C. Petry has recently reminded us of this in his "Unitive Reform Principles of the Late Medieval Conciliarists," *Church History*, XXXI (June 1962), 164–81.

[68] Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1136B, 1143A; Almain, to my knowledge, makes no mention of the problem of reform in any of his numerous works.

[69] Almain, at least, may have found the regime too harsh for he defected to Navarre. (See Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme*, 290 ff., esp. 358; Garcia Villoslada, *Universidad de Paris*, 127 ff., esp. 166.)

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relevant to the question of ecclesiastical reform, whether conceived in Protestant or in Catholic terms.

This is not, one would think, too startling a proposition, but what would historians a century ago have made of it? After all, did not Luther himself appeal from the judgment of the pope to that of a general council? And were the textbooks so very wrong if they tended to classify the conciliarists as reformers before the Reformation? Luther did, indeed, appeal to a general council, not once, but twice, but it seems that one would be misguided to regard these appeals as anything much more than legal maneuvers or propagandistic devices like so many other similar appeals, or, for that matter, like his own earlier appeal to a better-informed pope.[70] And, in the light of what we now know about the nature of the conciliar movement and the origins of conciliar theory, attempts to portray the conciliarists as protoreformers in any Protestant sense are surely redundant.[71]

But what about those less radical programs for reform of the type finally achieved at Trent? Was conciliar theory on the eve of the Reformation really irrelevant to them? Not wholly, of course, but certainly to a very considerable extent.[72] For here it is of the utmost importance to keep in mind a clear distinction between, on the one hand, the strict conciliar theory—involving, as it did, an assertion of the superiority of council to pope—and, on the other, the less radical and more widespread belief that the necessary reform in head and members could be achieved only by means of a general council. The Great Schism had brought about an alliance between the two, but Jedin has shown that in the years after Basel subscribers to the second often recoiled from advocacy of the first, and that it is improper to regard as conciliarists perhaps the majority of those who demanded the summoning of a reforming council. "The great concern," he says, "was not so much the question of the supremacy of the Council as the holding of a Council there and then," or, more succinctly, "the struggle was not about *Sacrosancta* but about *Frequens*."[73] And, on the other hand, the Council of Pisa—very much, of course, a conciliarist's council—should itself serve to remind us that advocates of the first were not necessarily concerned

[70] See Jedin, *History*, I, 172–73, 176. Note that the purely legal sections of Luther's appeal of November 1518 are heavily dependent upon the appeal made by the University of Paris in March 1518 by way of protest against the Franco-papal concordat of 1516. (For a comparison of the two appeals, see Thomas, *Concordat de 1516*, III, 72–74.) Note, too, that Luther's appeal of 1520 was made a year after he himself had denied that general councils could not err on matters of faith.

[71] Though, for example, Spinka, *Advocates of Reform*, 13–17, would still seem to sympathize with them.

[72] Jedin, *History*, I, Chap. II, 32 ff., is very clear on this whole issue. The Bolognese jurist, Giovanni Gozzadini, is apparently a striking exception to the generalization for he combined conciliar theory in the old manner with a fervent appeal for sweeping reforms.

[73] *Ibid.*, 61.

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primarily with the second, for, despite its formal pronouncements, the real ecclesiastical evil which that council met to remedy was nothing more spiritual than the adoption by Julius II of a diplomatic stance hostile to the international ambitions of the French King.[74]

If, then, the arguments of Almain and Major bear witness to the survival of the strict conciliar theory into the age of Reformation, it should be realized that their silences are equally eloquent, but eloquent this time of the increasing isolation of that theory, of the extent to which it was being reduced in stature, from a strategic weapon of supranational range to a merely tactical device, lodged in the armory of Gallican pretensions, and divorced, therefore, from programs of more complex provenance and more exalted purpose. It survived, this strict conciliar theory, but it did so, above all, in France, the Catholic kingdom that, when the disintegration of Christian unity had made a general council imperative, most adamantly opposed its convocation, and the Catholic kingdom that, when such a council had finally met, altogether refused to accept its vital decrees on disciplinary reform.[75]

[74] See Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme,* esp. 524 ff.; Imbart de la Tour, *Origines de la réforme,* II, 127 ff.; Jedin, *History,* I, 106 ff. The motives of those of the dissident cardinals who were not French were, however, somewhat mixed. Some of them abandoned the conciliabulum when it became clear that it was becoming a purely French affair and sought reconciliation with the pope.

[75] Despite recurrent Franco-papal negotiations, the decrees of Trent on matters other than dogma were never formally accepted by the French kings and never published by official royal act. (See Victor Martin, *Le Gallicanisme et la Réforme Catholique* [Paris, 1919], esp. 344–95.) Martin designates "les parlementaires gallicans" rather than the French clergy as the force responsible for this state of affairs. (*Ibid.,* 400.) The reforming decrees were, in fact, published by a clerical assembly in 1615, but it is worth noting that this event coincided with the abandonment by the French clergy (at least for some years) of the conciliar theory. (See *ibid.,* 403.)

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The General Motors Sit-Down Strike: A Re-examination

SIDNEY FINE*

ALTHOUGH the General Motors sit-down strike of 1937 has been correctly described as "the most critical labor conflict of the nineteen thirties" and as of crucial significance to the subsequent growth of automobile unionism in particular and industrial unionism in general,[1] a great many questions regarding the strike and the role of its principal participants remain unanswered. It is still not possible to resolve all the doubts concerning this greatest of all automotive strikes, but the relevant manuscript collections now available, and especially the recently opened Frank Murphy Papers, do permit one to speak about at least some aspects of the strike with a greater degree of certainty than was heretofore possible.[2]

The general outlines of the GM sit-down strike are familiar enough. Following the outbreak of sit-down strikes at the Atlanta Fisher Body plant on November 18, 1936, and the Kansas City Fisher Body plant on December 16, 1936, Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, sought an "immediate general conference" with the top management of GM. The corporation, however, insisted that the union should discuss its grievances at the local plant level, in accordance with GM's established procedure for collective bargaining. The union responded that the principal issues that it wished to discuss with the company—recognition for collective bargaining, seniority rights, minimum wages, and the speed of the production line—were national in scope and must consequently be dealt with by union and management representatives for GM as a whole. Affairs were thus deadlocked when on December 28 the Cleveland Fisher Body plant

* A professor at the University of Michigan whose major field of interest is twentieth-century United States history, Mr. Fine is the author of *The Automobile under the Blue Eagle: Labor, Management, and the Automobile Manufacturing Code* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963).

[1] Walter Galenson, *The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A History of the American Labor Movement, 1935–1941* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 134, 141; Edward Levinson, *Labor on the March* (New York, 1938, 1956), 168; Saul Alinsky, *John L. Lewis, an Unauthorized Biography* (New York, 1949), 96.

[2] The principal manuscript collections on which this article is based are the Frank Murphy Papers, Michigan Historical Collections; Records of the Michigan Military Establishment Relating to the Flint Sit-Down Strike, 1937 [hereafter cited as National Guard Records], microfilm copy in Michigan Historical Collections; the relevant files in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; General Motors, Labor Relations Diary and Appendix Documents, GM Building, Detroit, Michigan; the John Brophy Papers, Catholic University; and the Joe Brown Collection, Wayne State University Archives.

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was tied up by a sit-down strike, and two days later the same strike tactic closed down the two Fisher Body plants in Flint. The strike eventually spread throughout the GM empire, affecting approximately 140,000 of the corporation's automotive employees and more than 50 of its plants, but the center of the conflict from the end of December was Flint, whose Fisher Body plants, along with Cleveland Fisher Body, produced bodies and parts on which perhaps three-fourths of GM's automotive production depended.[3]

The most significant of the union's official demands, which were submitted to GM on January 4, 1937, was the request that the UAW be recognized as the exclusive bargaining agency for all GM employees.[4] The issue of exclusive representation had been in contention between automobile labor and automobile management ever since Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act had stimulated the growth of unionism in the industry. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 had endorsed the union position on this question, but since the constitutionality of the statute had not yet been determined at the time the strike began, GM, like many other large employers, continued to adhere to the policy with regard to representation that it had evolved while the NIRA was in effect: union representatives would be permitted to bargain with the corporation only for union members.[5]

General Motors made its position clear with regard to the sit-down tactic on the last day of 1936. William S. Knudsen, the executive vice-president of the corporation, stated for GM that the sit-downers were "clearly trespassers and violators of the law of the land" and that there would be no bargaining with the UAW while the strikers remained in "illegal possession" of GM's plants.[6] On January 2, 1937, GM received from Judge Edward Black of the Genesee County Circuit Court in Flint an injunction ordering the strikers to evacuate the two Flint plants, to cease picketing, and not to interfere with those who wanted to enter the plants to work. The strikers ignored the injunction, but both Black and his writ were discredited a few days later when it was revealed that the Flint judge held $219,900 of GM stock. General Motors, caught unawares, transferred its injunction to Judge Paul Gadola's court, but it did not, for the moment, press the issue.[7]

[3] GM, Labor Relations Diary, Sec. 1, 68–72; Martin to William S. Knudsen, Dec. 21, 1936, to Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., and to Knudsen, Dec. 24, 1936, Knudsen to Martin, Dec. 31, 1936, *ibid.*, Appendix Documents to Accompany Sec. 1; Henry Kraus, *The Many and the Few: A Chronicle of the Dynamic Auto Workers* (Los Angeles, 1947), 78–79; New York *Times*, Feb. 12, 1937.

[4] Martin to Sloan and Knudsen, Jan. 4, 1937, Murphy Papers.

[5] The issue of representation in the automobile industry before the sit-down strikes is treated in Sidney Fine, *The Automobile under the Blue Eagle: Labor, Management, and the Automobile Manufacturing Code* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), *passim*.

[6] Knudsen to Martin, Dec. 31, 1936, GM Appendix Documents, Sec. 1.

[7] Galenson, *CIO Challenge to AFL*, 136–37; Kraus, *Many and the Few*, 107–13; Detroit *News*, Jan. 3, 7, 25, 29, 1937.

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On January 11, GM attempted to dislodge the strikers from the Fisher Body No. 2 plant, the smaller and the more weakly held of the two Flint Fisher Body factories. The heat in the plant was shut off, and company police tried to prevent food from being taken in to the strikers, but the sit-downers, who had held only the second floor of the factory, captured the plant gates from the company police to assure their supply of food. When Flint police sought to recapture the gates, the strikers drove them off with such improvised weapons as automobile door hinges and thus emerged the victors in what came to be known as "The Battle of the Running Bulls."[8]

The violence of January 11 prompted Michigan's newly elected governor, Frank Murphy, to send units of the National Guard[9] into Flint to maintain order, and at the same time the governor invited union and management representatives to Lansing to bring an end to the strike. A truce was arranged on January 15. The union, rejecting the advice of John Brophy, director of the CIO, that it was conceding too much, agreed to evacuate all GM plants held by the sit-down strikers, and GM consented to meet with UAW representatives on January 18 to bargain collectively on the proposals submitted to it by the union on January 4. Negotiations were to continue for at least fifteen days, unless a settlement had been effected earlier, and the corporation stated that it would not try to resume operations in any of the struck plants during this period nor would it remove from them any dies, tools, material (except for export), machinery, or equipment.[10]

Before the scheduled departure of the Flint workers from the two Fisher Body plants, the UAW learned that GM had agreed to meet with the Flint Alliance, a recently formed organization that had been sponsoring a back-to-work movement and that was viewed by the UAW as a company union. Charging the violation of the truce agreement, the UAW refused to evacuate the Flint plants, and a deadlock once again ensued. The scene of negotiations thereupon shifted to Washington, where Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins sought in vain to arrange a conference between GM's president, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., and John L. Lewis, the CIO chieftain who was representing the UAW.[11]

In an effort to strengthen its position and gain the initiative in the strike, the UAW on February 1, after first drawing off the company police to the

[8] Kraus, *Many and the Few*, 125–41; Levinson, *Labor on the March*, 155–57; Detroit *News*, Jan. 12, 1937.

[9] The number of Guardsmen in Flint eventually reached 3,454. (G-1 Periodic Reports, Feb. 7, 1937, National Guard Records.)

[10] Detroit *News*, Jan. 12–15, 1937; Knudsen *et al.* to Murphy, Jan. 15, 1937, Murphy Papers; John Brophy, *A Miner's Life: An Autobiography*, ed. and suppl. John O. P. Hall (Madison, Wis., 1964), 269.

[11] Detroit *News*, Jan. 18–31, 1937; Kraus, *Many and the Few*, 157–65.

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Chevrolet No. 9 plant by staging a decoy sit-down strike there, seized and occupied the Chevrolet No. 4 plant, which produced the engines for Chevrolet cars and was "the most important single unit" in the GM complex. The National Guard, on instructions from Governor Murphy, responded to this action by cordoning off the Chevrolet No. 4 plant and the nearby Fisher Body No. 2 plant.[12]

The day after the union captured the strategic Chevrolet No. 4 plant, Judge Gadola issued an injunction that ordered the union to evacuate the two Fisher Body plants and to cease picketing outside them. The injunction was again defied, but Murphy did not choose to use state troops to enforce the court order. In the meantime, GM agreed to confer with John L. Lewis, and a long series of talks began in Detroit on February 3. As Murphy later saw it, the crucial factor in breaking the strike deadlock was a letter that he read to Lewis on February 9 in which the Michigan governor stated that it was his duty to see to it that the laws were enforced.[13]

Agreement between union and management was reached on February 11, the corporation consenting to recognize the UAW as the bargaining agency for those of its employees who were union members and to commence negotiations with the UAW on the issues specified in its letter of January 4. The agreement was supplemented by a letter from Knudsen to Murphy in which GM agreed for a period of six months after work was resumed not to bargain or enter into agreements with any other employee organization with regard to such matters as were referred to in the union's January 4 letter unless this procedure was first sanctioned by Governor Murphy.[14] In effect, the UAW was given exclusive bargaining rights for a period of six months.

It seems clear from published accounts and from the transcripts of interviews with participants that have recently become available that the Flint sit-down occurred prematurely, and it would appear that the decision to conduct a sit-down rather than a conventional outside strike was made locally rather than by the UAW or CIO leadership. The UAW and the CIO regarded GM as "job number one" in the automobile industry, and there was at least talk among the leadership in the latter part of 1936 about striking the corporation as a whole by tying up the Cleveland and

[12] *Ibid.*, 189–219; Louis G. Seaton to H. W. Anderson, Feb. 2, 1937, GM Appendix Documents, Sec. 1; Executive Order, Feb. 1, 1937, Murphy Papers; Detroit *News*, Feb. 2, 3, 1937; *United Automobile Worker*, Feb. 25, 1937.

[13] Galenson, *CIO Challenge to AFL*, 139–40; Levinson, *Labor on the March*, 163–67; Kraus, *Many and the Few*, 229–34, 263–78; Detroit *News*, Feb. 3–11, 1937.

[14] There are copies in the Murphy Papers of the February 11 agreement and of Knudsen's letter to Murphy of February 11.

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the Fisher Body No. 1 plants, but this was not to occur until after January 1, 1937. The holiday period between Christmas and New Year's, when the sit-down actually occurred, was regarded as "a very poor time psychologically to pull a strike" if only because the workers would be especially short of funds then and would be reluctant to lose any pay that they might otherwise earn. Also, Murphy was not scheduled to succeed Frank Fitzgerald as governor of Michigan until January 1, 1937, and the UAW expected Murphy to be more friendly to its position than Fitzgerald was likely to be.[15]

The conventional story as to why the strike began in Flint on December 30 is that Robert Travis, the director of organization for the UAW in Flint, learned that evening that GM, concerned about what might be impending because of the strikes in some of its plants, was planning to move some giant dies out of the Fisher Body No. 1 plant to Grand Rapids and Pontiac. Travis, according to the usual story, thereupon called the shop stewards together, and the decision was made to strike. Bud Simons, however, chairman of the Fisher Body No. 1 shop stewards, has recently challenged this version of the origins of the strike. As he recalls it, a strike at the time of the flat-glass workers was causing a glass shortage that might in itself have forced the closing of the Flint plants in a few days without a strike. Travis, anxious for the union to seize the initiative rather than be the passive victim of a plant shutdown, came to Simons and declared: "We have got to find something to start a strike about around here." The story about the shipment of the dies was then fabricated and spread throughout the plant, and Travis and the shop stewards called for the sit-down.[16]

It was alleged before the Dies Committee in the fall of 1938 that the Communists inspired and organized the sit-down strikes, and Larry S. Davidow, who served as one of the attorneys for the UAW during the Flint sit-down, also voiced this opinion in a recent interview. "The major fact to keep in mind," he has charged, "is that the whole strategy of the

[15] Oral History Interview of Wyndham Mortimer, June 20, 1960, 27, 34–35, Michigan Historical Collections (there are copies of all the UAW oral history interviews in both the Michigan Historical Collections and the Wayne State University Archives); Oral History Interview of George F. Addes, June 25, 1960, 15–16; Statement of Mr. Martin. . . , Sept. 11, 1936, Brown Collection; *Time,* XXIX (Jan. 11, 1937), 16; John Brophy, "The Struggle for an Auto Union," 1–3, MS for chapter of book, Brophy Papers; Levinson, *Labor on the March,* 149; Kraus, *Many and the Few,* 78–81.

[16] Levinson, *Labor on the March,* 152; Kraus, *Many and the Few,* 86–88; Flint *Auto Worker,* Jan. 5, 1937; Mortimer Interview, 35–36; Oral History Interview of Bud Simons, Sept. 6, 1960, 28–30. The union claimed that it sat down in the Fisher Body No. 2 plant because GM had transferred three inspectors when they had refused to quit the union. (Detroit *News,* Jan. 3, 1937); see William Weinstone, *The Great Sit-Down Strike* (New York, 1937), 21, for a Communist account of the strike that seems to support the Simons version of its origin.

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sit-down strike was communist inspired, communist directed and communist controlled."[17]

That the Flint sit-down strike was part of a Communist plot would be difficult, if not impossible, to demonstrate, but that Communists and fellow travelers played crucial roles in the strike story is beyond dispute. It was Wyndham Mortimer, described by Benjamin Stolberg as "a Stalinist from the very beginning," who had begun the serious organization of automobile workers in Flint in July 1936 at a time when UAW strength in the city was at low ebb. When Mortimer was recalled from Flint in the fall of 1936, he was replaced by Travis, whom Max M. Kampelman has characterized as "a man with a long pedigree of Communist activity." Travis continued the work of organization begun by Mortimer, played the decisive part in calling the sit-down strike in the Fisher Body No. 1 plant, and has been accurately described as "The leading personality . . . in the strike." Inside the Fisher Body No. 1 plant, leadership was exercised by Simons, who had joined the Communist controlled Auto Workers Union in the late 1920's while working in Grand Rapids and had participated in at least one of the meetings arranged by Communists and "progressives" in 1934 to promote the establishment of an international, industrial union in the automobile industry.[18]

Communists or near Communists were also present at the UAW and CIO leadership levels during the strike. Maurice Sugar, characterized by Benjamin Gitlow as "top man for the Communist party in Detroit," served as a UAW counsel during the strike, and Lee Pressman, who later admitted his Communist connections, was one of John L. Lewis' closest advisers throughout the dispute, and his name, as well as Mortimer's, appears on the agreement that ended the strike.[19] It does not follow, though, that these men or any of the Communists and fellow travelers who played prominent roles in the GM strike pursued policies that conflicted with the organizational interests of the UAW or that they succeeded to any extent

[17] House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of the Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States,* 75 Cong., 3 sess. (Washington, D.C., 1938), II, 1454, 1494–96, 1551, 1554, 1649, 1689; August Raymond Ogden, *The Dies Committee: A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938–1943* (Washington, D.C., 1943), 82, 106; Oral History Interview of Larry S. Davidow, July 14, 1960, 12–14, 22–23.

[18] Benjamin Stolberg, *The Story of the CIO* (New York, 1938), 164; Mortimer Interview, 28–33; UAW, Second Annual Convention, *Report of Wyndham Mortimer* (Aug. 23, 1937), 4–6, Joseph A. Labadie Collection, University of Michigan; Max M. Kampelman, *The Communist Party vs. the CIO: A Study in Power Politics* (New York, 1957), 64; Oral History Interview of Carl Haessler, Nov. 27, 1959–Oct. 24, 1960, 14; Simons Interview, 3–4, 11–13.

[19] Benjamin Gitlow, *The Whole of Their Lives: Communism in America—A Personal History and Intimate Portrayal of Its Leaders* (New York, 1948), 278–79; Oral History Interview of Len DeCaux, Mar. 11, 18, 1961, 29–30; Brophy, "Struggle for an Auto Union," 21, Brophy Papers.

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in reaping advantages from the strike for the Communist as distinct from the union cause. It is perfectly clear, moreover, that Murphy knew nothing about the Communist role in the strike and that the workers were striking because of their grievances against management rather than from any desire to promote Communist objectives.

As was suspected at the time and as recently made available evidence, including undercover reports, has substantiated, the Flint auto plants that were struck were held by a minority of the workers in these plants, on some days by a very small minority. The Fisher Body No. 1 plant, which employed as many as 6,500–7,500 workers, had as few as 90 men in the plant at one point during the strike, according to Simons, and the much smaller Fisher Body No. 2 plant, which had a normal complement of about 1,100 workers, was held by 17 strikers on January 26, according to the National Guard. Nor were all the workers inside the plants employees of these plants. Flint GM workers who were not on strike and automobile unionists from Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, and elsewhere found their way into and out of the plants. Thus the morning after the UAW had seized the Chevrolet No. 4 plant, Colonel Joseph H. Lewis, the commanding officer of the National Guard in Flint, reported to Governor Murphy that of 850 workers in the plant, only 150 were employees of that plant.[20] Of course, if only because of the food problem, it was in the interests of the union to hold the plants with as few persons as possible, but the small numbers within the plants also reflect the very limited membership and strength of the UAW in Flint when the strike began.

The major criticism leveled against Murphy with regard to his policy during the course of the sit-down strike in Flint was that he violated his oath of office by failing to eject the sit-downers who were illegally in possession of GM property and by refusing to enforce a court order requiring the evacuation of two of the corporation's plants. It must be recalled, however, that although the sit-down strikes were held by most, but not all, authorities to constitute an illegal trespass upon private property, the United States Supreme Court had not yet spoken on the matter, and the status of the tactic under the criminal laws was not altogether self-evident. As Murphy later wrote to a columnist, "Apart from private civil action, and owing to the novelty of the practice, it was not very certain what legal action was

[20] Simons Interview, 47; G-2 Journal, Jan. 26, 1937, National Guard Records; Strike Chronology [Feb. 1–8, 1937], Feb. 2, 1937, Murphy Papers; see also Norman Hill Memoranda to Murphy, Jan. 12, 15, 1937, *ibid.*; and Oral History Interviews of Arthur Case, Aug. 4, 1960, 6, Norman Bully, Oct. 12, 1961, 4–5, Joseph Ditzel, Sept. 25, 1960, 12, and Clayton Johnson, June 1, 1961, 9.

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available or appropriate to deal with a body of men peacefully occupying their place of employment."[21]

Murphy informed the union negotiators more than once that the strikers were in illegal possession of the GM plants, and he referred publicly to "the unlawful seizure of private property."[22] He was not, however, prepared to push this point to its logical conclusion and thus impair the chances for a peaceful settlement. He saw the union as using the means at its disposal to safeguard its rights and as fighting back against employer violation of the Wagner Act and is thus understood to have told the GM negotiators that the occupation of their factories went "deeper into social and economic questions" than did the ordinary violation of property rights. Under the circumstances, he was content to follow the counsel of his legal advisers that the matter of legality was a problem at least initially for the local authorities to resolve; his own responsibility would not have to be considered until local officials called for his assistance in enforcing the law.[23]

As a matter of fact, Murphy has been less criticized for his failure to initiate action to dislodge the strikers than for his alleged refusal to act when the strikers were found in contempt of court. What is often ignored by Murphy's critics, however, is that only a few days actually elapsed between the time Murphy was requested by the sheriff to aid him in enforcing the court order and the settlement of the strike. From the start also, as is now evident, Murphy was painfully aware of his obligations with regard to the enforcement of the law.

Following the revelation of Judge Black's stockholdings, GM did not file an amended bill of complaint and a motion for injunction until January 28, and it was not until February 2 that Judge Gadola issued his injunction, which was to take effect in twenty-four hours. Speaking to Perkins by phone on the evening of February 2, Murphy observed that consideration had to be given to the fact that "tomorrow afternoon I have got to say that I will be obedient to the law or not."[24] When the workers in the two Fisher Body plants defied the injunction and informed Murphy that the use of

[21] Edward G. Kemp, "Frank Murphy as Government Administrator," 1951, Edward G. Kemp Papers, Michigan Historical Collections; Murphy to Mark Sullivan, Jan. 4, 1939, Murphy Papers; for the argument that the sit-down strike was not illegal, see Leon Green, "The Case for the Sit-Down Strike," *New Republic,* XC (Mar. 24, 1937), 199–201.

[22] Murphy statement, Jan. 14, 1937, Murphy to Lewis and Martin, Feb. 9, 1937, to Albert H. Dale, Feb. 25, 1937, to Paul Block, Dec. 9, 1938, Murphy Papers; Kraus, *Many and the Few,* 268; Detroit *News,* Jan. 12, 1937; cf. Murphy to Octave P. Beauvais, July 7, 1937, Murphy Papers.

[23] Murphy to Dale, Feb. 25, 1937, Murphy speech, Oct. 21, 1938, Kemp Memorandum to Murphy, Jan. 27, 1937, *ibid.;* New York *Times,* Jan. 14, 1937.

[24] Strike Chronology, Feb. 2, 1937, Murphy Papers. This document, covering the period February 1–8, contains a detailed, although incomplete, record of events relating to the strike as seen through Murphy's eyes. It was almost certainly prepared at the time of the strike.

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force would mean "a blood bath of unarmed workers" for which he would be responsible, Murphy had drawn up but did not issue a statement declaring that he had no "honorable alternative but to see that the laws of the state are faithfully executed and the lawful orders of its courts promptly and effectively enforced."[25]

Informed by affidavit that the injunction was being violated, Judge Gadola on February 5 issued a writ of attachment commanding the sheriff "to attach the bodies" of all occupants of the two Fisher Body plants, their "confederates" who were picketing the No. 1 plant, and local officers of the UAW for refusal to comply with the February 2 injunction. Thomas Wolcott, the Genesee County sheriff, thereupon sent Murphy a telegram asking for the assistance of the National Guard in the execution of the writ and inquiring whether, as an alternative, it would be necessary for the sheriff to swear in deputies to enforce the court order. It was only at this point, six days before the final settlement, that Murphy incurred any clear-cut obligation to ensure that a court order be obeyed. Murphy, who had authorized Maurice Sugar to inform Judge Gadola that a settlement was near, was perturbed that the judge had not delayed the issuance of the writ. He told Perkins, as notes made of their conversation indicate, that GM had made "a rather serious mistake" and was trying to "embarrass" him and put him in a "bad position. I am not a representative for the G.M. or for the labor group but for the people," he said, ". . . and the public interest requires peace."[26]

Intent upon preserving the peace and at the same time aware that the enforcement of the court order could not long be delayed, Murphy, we now know, took a series of steps to avoid disruption of the negotiations but, at the same time, to clarify to the union negotiators his position regarding law and order. He decided on Friday, February 5, the day the writ of attachment was issued, that the time had come to draft a letter to Lewis explaining that the order of a court was "the law of the land" and would have to be obeyed, but he also instructed the National Guard, if it deemed the action necessary, to cordon off the Fisher Body No. 1 plant as it had already surrounded the Fisher Body No. 2 and Chevrolet No. 4 plants and thus to make it impossible for the sheriff or "a mob of deputies" to get into the plants. Most important of all, he requested the sheriff to delay over the weekend any effort to enforce the writ since a settlement seemed imminent.[27]

[25] Fisher No. 1 Sit-In Employes to Murphy, Feb. 3, 1937, Stay In Strikers of the Fisher Body Plant No. 2 to Murphy, Feb. 3, 1937, Murphy statement, Feb. 3, 1937, *ibid.*

[26] Affidavit by E. J. Parker, Feb. 4, 1937, Writ of Attachment, Feb. 5, 1937, National Guard Records; Sugar to Murphy, Oct. 25, 1938, Murphy to Sugar, Nov. 2, 1938, Strike Chronology, Feb. 5, 1937, Murphy Papers.

[27] Strike Chronology, Feb. 5, 1937, Murphy to the Rev. George H. Smith, July 22, 1937,

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Actually, Sheriff Wolcott, a Democrat who "thoroughly hated his assignment," had no intention of taking any aggressive action without the approval of the governor.[28]

Murphy's decision to delay the enforcement of the writ of attachment was fully in accord with the wishes of the National Guard. As evidence recently made available indicates, Judge Advocate General Samuel D. Pepper, who disliked the idea of using the Guard at any time to make arrests under contempt orders, and Colonel Lewis and his staff were impressed with the difficulty under existing circumstances of apprehending and taking to court the several thousand persons against whom the writ of attachment was directed, and they advised the governor to delay an order to the Guard to aid the sheriff in executing the writ.[29]

On February 7, with a settlement not yet achieved, Murphy told President Roosevelt on the phone that he (Murphy) would have to make clear to Lewis the governor's responsibility as chief executive of the state to uphold the law, and on February 8 the famous letter to Lewis was drafted. The letter was read by Murphy to the CIO head at 9:15 p.m. the next day, with Conciliator James F. Dewey the only other person present. In the document, the original of which is preserved in the Murphy Papers,[30] Murphy informed Lewis that he wished to indicate in writing, as he had "already done verbally on several occasions," his position as chief executive of Michigan. It had been and still was his hope that the strike could be settled by negotiation, but since the parties had thus far been unable to come to an agreement, "the time has come for all concerned to comply fully with the decision and order of the Court and take necessary steps to restore possession of the occupied plants to their rightful owners." It was his duty "to demand and require" obedience to the laws and court orders, and he would be faithful to that obligation.[31] After further prolonged negotiating sessions, the governor was able to announce the settlement of the strike early in the morning of February 11. The writ had not been enforced, but

ibid.; Detroit *News*, Feb. 6, 1937; Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Nomination of Frank Murphy*, 76 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, D.C., 1939), 3–4.

[28] Kraus, *Many and the Few*, 108; Wolcott to Murphy, Aug. 17, 1938, Statement by Wolcott, Oct. 21, 1938, Murphy Papers.

[29] Pepper to Raymond W. Starr, Mar. 22, 1937, Pepper to Kemp, Jan. 12, 1939, *ibid.*

[30] The original of the letter and the several carbon copies of it in the Murphy Papers bear the date February 9 rather than February 8. When the letter was typed, probably on February 8, the space for the day of the month was left blank, and the "9" was later added, presumably to make the date of the letter conform to the date of its presentation to Lewis. When a copy of the letter was first publicly revealed on January 13, 1939 (it was submitted by Murphy to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary that was considering his nomination to be Attorney General), it bore the date February 8 and the notation that it had been read and delivered at 9:15 p.m. on February 9.

[31] Strike Chronology, Feb. 7, 1937, Murphy to Lewis and Martin, Feb. 9, 1937, Murphy Papers.

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neither had a single life been lost in one of the most volatile strikes in all of American history.

As a matter of fact, Murphy's delay in enforcing the writ of attachment was not without precedent, and even Judge Gadola conceded at the time that the sheriff "had the authority to wait indefinitely before serving it." Commenting in 1938 on the delay, Wolcott agreed that there was "no hurry about it especially when such great issues were at stake." Sheriffs in Michigan and elsewhere, after all, regularly delayed the execution of writs of attachment issued after property had been foreclosed and writs of attachment requiring them to take action to satisfy judgments against merchants. "If the Governor is to be accused of obstructing justice," a member of the Michigan Parole Board wrote Murphy's brother George, "then every sheriff and public officer might be accused of the same thing."[32]

Among the factors that persuaded Frank Murphy to delay enforcement of a court order, none was more compelling than his great reluctance to take any step that might lead to violence and the loss of life. A man with a "deep reverence for human life," Murphy told his friend Mrs. Fielding H. Yost during the course of the strike, "I am not going to do it. I'm not going down in history as 'Bloody Murphy!' If I sent those soldiers right in on the men there'd be no telling how many would be killed. It would be inconsistent with everything I have ever stood for in my whole political life." In his first statement on the strike, the newly inaugurated governor declared on January 4 that he would see to it that "no force is used," and a few days later he wrote in a private letter to a Flint clergyman, "I abhor violence and you may be sure that the State of Michigan will do everything honorably within its power to prevent it." Throughout the strike, as the record indicates, Murphy did everything that could reasonably have been expected of him to remain faithful to the assurances with regard to violence that he had given.[33]

When he was compelled by the Battle of the Running Bulls and the likelihood of further violence to send the National Guard into Flint, Murphy gave the command of the troops to Colonel Joseph H. Lewis, commander of the 119th Field Artillery and a seasoned soldier, rather than to the ranking officer of the Michigan Guard, General Heinrich Pickert, the police commissioner of Detroit. Pickert was passed over by the governor not only because the Detroit official had other duties but because his "militaristic

[32] Detroit *News*, Feb. 8, 1937; Statement by Wolcott, Oct. 21, 1938, John H. Eliasohn to George Murphy, Oct. 24, 1938, Murphy Papers.

[33] Kemp, "Murphy as Government Administrator"; transcript of interview with Mrs. Fielding H. Yost, Oct. 28, 1963, 6, in my possession; Strike Chronology, Feb. 8, 1937, Murphy Papers; Detroit *News*, Jan. 4, 1937; Murphy to the Rev. R. M. Atkins, Jan. 9, 1937, Murphy Papers.

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policies" as police commissioner had antagonized labor and civil rights groups, and Murphy was afraid to rely on Pickert's discretion in an emergency.[34] Murphy also let it be known that "The state authorities will not take sides. They are here only to protect public peace . . . and for no other reason at all." John S. Bersey, Michigan's adjutant general, advised the area commander at the outset, as the records of the National Guard reveal, that Murphy was particularly concerned that "everything be done by the troops to avoid bringing on a conflict. He does not desire that anyone be shot or seriously injured." By maintaining "a calm and peaceful attitude," the troops, the governor hoped, would provide the opportunity for the disputants to reach an amicable settlement.[35]

Murphy's reluctance to use force was put to a severe test on February 1, when the union staged its attack on Chevrolet No. 9 to cover its seizure of Chevrolet No. 4. In his headquarters in a Detroit hotel, the governor received an almost blow-by-blow account of the unfolding developments in Flint. When Colonel Lewis suggested that the National Guard might be used to "scatter the crowd in a quiet manner," Murphy refused permission and declared, "I don't like the militia in it unless it is necessary but if it . . . [is] we have to go in strong." A short time later Sheriff Wolcott recommended that martial law be declared, but Murphy resisted taking such drastic action. In the evening Murphy made his decision and directed the National Guard "to take immediate and effective steps to bring the situation under the control of the public authorities, suppress and prevent any breach of the peace, and ensure that the laws of the state are faithfully executed." The "immediate and effective steps" taken by the Guard, at the instruction of the governor, were to establish a cordon guard around Chevrolet No. 4 and Fisher Body No. 2—"Importance #1" in the parlance of the Guard, to prevent anyone from entering this area, and to deny supplies of any kind, including food, to the occupants of the two plants. Murphy made the decision to cut off the entry of food into the plants on the basis of early reports that the majority of the occupants of Chevrolet No. 4, which had been seized with the aid of outsiders, were not employees of the plant.[36]

[34] Frank Martel to Murphy, Apr. 28, 1936, *ibid.;* Detroit *News,* Jan. 28, 1937; Conference for Protection of Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Guardian* (1937), Brown Collection; Winston Wessels, "Importance #1: The Michigan National Guard and the 1937 Flint Sit-Down Strike," seminar paper, 1963, 10, MS in my possession.

[35] (Lansing) *State Journal,* Jan. 12, 1937; Bersey to Commanding Officer, Jan. 12, 1937, National Guard Records.

[36] Strike Chronology, Feb. 1, 2, 1937, Executive Order, Feb. 1, 1937, Murphy Papers; G-2 Journal, Feb. 1, 1937, G-3 Periodic Reports, Feb. 1, 1937, 63rd Brigade S-3 Periodic Reports, Feb. 2, 1937, Pepper to Lewis, Feb. 20, 1937, National Guard Records; Kraus, *Many and the Few,* 219–22; Detroit *News,* Feb. 2, 1937.

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When John Brophy learned that food was being denied the occupants of the two plants, he phoned Murphy and, according to Brophy's manuscript account of the event, "berated" the governor for his action and asked him whether he wanted to "'starve to death poor workers who are only asking for their lawful rights.'" When Murphy explained the reason for his decision, Brophy asked for and received permission to enter the plant. By the time he visited the factory most of the outsiders had departed; Brophy found only four persons in the plant, including Walter and Roy Reuther, who were not employees, and all of them left the plant with him.

The National Guard conducted its own investigation of the personnel in Chevrolet No. 4, and when Colonel Lewis reported to Murphy on the evening of February 2 that he was "confident" that "practically all" the men in the plant were "regular employees," Murphy instructed the area commander to allow food to pass through the National Guard lines. Murphy spoke to Brophy on the phone that night and gave him a categorical and perhaps an unwise promise that "The military will never be used against you. I'd leave my office first."[37]

Writing to a clergyman a few months after peace terms had been arranged, Murphy observed that the Flint strike had been "loaded with dynamite that might have been touched off by a single injudicious act."[38] Whatever else might be said about Murphy's strike policy, he did avoid the "injudicious act" that could have led to the loss of life.

Some writers on the strike have pictured the National Guard as spoiling for a fight and as having been thwarted in its desire for action by a governor who was unwilling to use force.[39] Actually, the leadership of the Guard and the judge advocate general of the state were as anxious as Murphy to avoid provocative acts in Flint and were as reluctant as he to use the Guardsmen in a frontal assault on the plants to evict the strikers. At least some of the credit for the peaceful outcome of the Flint strike must go to the Michigan National Guard.

From the start, the troops in Flint were closely restricted to their billets and were "kept well in hand." Colonel Lewis left no doubt in the minds of the Guardsmen regarding the nature of their task in Flint.

[37] Brophy, "Struggle for an Auto Union," 18–19, and Brophy Diary, Feb. 2, 1937, Brophy Papers; G-3 Periodic Reports, Feb. 2, 1937, National Guard Records; Strike Chronology, Feb. 2, 1937, Murphy Papers; Official Strike Bulletin No. 10, Strike Bulletin, Feb. 2, 1937, Brown Collection; Kraus, *Many and the Few,* 222–26.

[38] Murphy to Smith, July 22, 1937, Murphy Papers.

[39] Levinson, *Labor on the March,* 163; Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York, 1949), 61.

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> Our mission here in Flint [he informed them in the first bulletin issued to the men] is to protect life and property should the situation develop to a point where civil law enforcement agencies cannot do so. Unless and until such a situation develops, our task is that of mere watchful waiting. During this period of waiting, let me again emphasize the fact that officers and men must not, under any circumstances, enter into discussions or arguments with civilians regarding the strike. We must not take sides. We must lean backwards so as to avoid the semblance of seeming to take sides. Our troops include men of all walks of life and many of us are naturally sympathetic to one side or other. However, as long as we are in uniform, our personal leanings must be made secondary.

Guard leaders, as a matter of fact, tried not only to restrain their own men, but, in the words of Lieutenant Colonel John H. Steck, assistant chief of staff, to make all parties in Flint realize that "personal and group differences of opinion should be subordinated in an attempt to prevent any untoward act that might jeopardize the success of the conference being conducted by the Governor."[40]

On February 1, Colonel Lewis, Judge Advocate General Pepper, and Adjutant General Bersey conferred with Governor Murphy, and "certain studies were directed to be immediately made and decisions arrived at."[41] The records available do not tell us any more than this about the February 1 conference, but almost certainly it was decided at that time that the National Guard should devise some plan for the possible eviction of the sit-in strikers. Responsibility for formulating the plan was assigned to Steck, and he was ready with his recommendations on February 5.

Steck considered three possible lines of action for the Guard to follow: the first involved the actual eviction of the strikers from both "Importance #1" (Chevrolet No. 4 and Fisher Body No. 2) and "Importance #2" (Fisher Body No. 1); the second called for containing "Importance #1" and the ejection of the occupants of "Importance #2"; and the third provided for containing "Importance #1" and isolating "Importance #2" by a cordon guard and then securing the ouster of the strikers, if desired, by denying them the necessities of life. Steck recommended the third option rather than a direct assault on either or both of the plants because he believed that it was likely to result in considerably fewer casualties. Steck must also have realized that if the strikers attacked to break the cordon around "Importance #2," the responsibility for violence would rest on them rather than on the Guard. Apparently agreeing with Steck's reasoning, Colonel Lewis endorsed his subordinate's recommendation.[42]

[40] Steck to Lewis, Feb. 20, 1937, Michigan National Guard Bulletin No. 1, Jan. 19, 1937, National Guard Records.

[41] Pepper to Lewis, Feb. 20, 1937, *ibid.*

[42] Steck to Lewis, Feb. 5, 1937, *ibid.* There is an "O.K.L." written on the plan recommended by Steck.

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According to Pepper, the military staff also believed that the execution of its mission required a formal declaration of martial law, and the governor was so advised on February 8. Murphy, however, vetoed this proposal. On the afternoon of the next day Bersey called the governor and advised him that the "Investment [of "Importance #2"] can be made without weakening our position" and that it might strengthen the position of the Guard "in the event of orders to be enforced."[43]

When Murphy read his letter to John L. Lewis that evening, he spoke only of his obligation to enforce the law, but he carefully avoided any mention of the means he might employ to secure that end. It has been assumed that Murphy was delivering a veiled threat to use troops to eject the strikers forcibly from the plants,[44] and Lewis himself has given this interpretation currency by an account of his confrontation with Murphy which he delivered to the 1940 convention of the UAW. " 'I do not doubt your ability to call out your soldiers and shoot the members of our union out of those plants,' " Lewis told the delegates he had said to Murphy, " 'but let me say that when you issue that order I shall leave this conference and I shall enter one of those plants with my own people (Applause.) . . . And the militia will have the pleasure of shooting me out of the plants with you [them?].' "[45] Whether Lewis actually spoke these words to Murphy or was simply indulging in retrospective fiction we do not know, but at all events Murphy was not planning at that time to use the Guard to shoot anyone. The probability is that, following the advice of his military staff, he intended merely to place a cordon guard around "Importance #2" and then, if the negotiations broke down and if the isolation of the strikers from very much contact with the outside world failed to discourage them,[46] to deny the necessities of life to them and thus to compel their surrender.

As he surveyed the record of the National Guard in Flint some weeks after the troops had been demobilized, Colonel Lewis concluded that the experience had "demonstrated that effective use can be made of troops at

[43] Pepper to Kemp, Jan. 12, 1939, Strike Chronology, Feb. 5, 8, 1937, Murphy Papers; Record of Phone Conversation with Murphy, Feb. 9, 1937, National Guard Records.

[44] Kraus, *Many and the Few*, 275–76; Alinsky, *Lewis*, 144; Detroit *News*, Jan. 14, 1939; Richard D. Lunt, "The High Ministry of Government: The Political Career of Frank Murphy," doctoral dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1962, 229. Russell B. Porter reported in the New York *Times* of February 8, 1937, that if the strike talks failed, Murphy was likely to order the investment of the Fisher Body No. 1 plant rather than the forcible eviction of the strikers, but on February 10 Porter was reporting that the talk was that Murphy would declare a "state of insurrection" and that Colonel Lewis would then order the Guard to aid in evicting the strikers.

[45] UAW, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention, 1940* (n.p., n.d.), 105; there is a more embellished version of the Lewis story in Alinsky, *Lewis*, 144–46.

[46] Contact between the sit-in strikers in the plants that had been cordoned off and the outside world was being curtailed in the final days of the strike. (Regulations Nos. 1 and 2, Feb. 10, 1937, National Guard Records.)

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such times without loss of life or distruction [*sic*] to property. . . ."[47] That violence had been avoided was pleasing not only to the colonel and the governor but also to the executives of GM, for it would be a mistake to assume that Knudsen and other officials were anxious to see the injunction they had sought enforced if it meant bloodshed. The loss of life was deplorable not only in itself, but it might have damaged the corporation's reputation and weakened its position in the race for sales with its two major competitors. Lawrence P. Fisher, of GM, a close friend of Murphy's, told the governor during the strike, as Norman H. Hill, Murphy's executive secretary, later remembered the governor's account of the conversation: "Frank, for God's sake if the Fisher . . . brothers never make another nickel, don't have any bloodshed in that plant. We don't want to have blood on our hands. . . . just keep things going and . . . it'll work out." There is every reason to believe that Knudsen fully shared these views.

When violence broke out in Flint on February 1, it was Fisher, we now know, who at first advised delay when Murphy asked if the GM executive thought it necessary "to put militia in there." On February 10, Arnold Lenz, the Flint Chevrolet plant manager, called Detroit for permission to use company police to eject the strikers in the No. 4 plant, but Lenz's superiors, the National Guard records reveal, vetoed the plan because they did not want to take responsibility for breaking up the negotiations.[48]

It is possible as the result of the manuscript resources now available to trace with greater accuracy than was previously possible the course of the negotiations that led to the settlement of the strike. The documents reveal that Murphy leaned toward the union, but, contrary to the popular image of him, was not an invariable supporter of the union point of view, that President Roosevelt involved himself in the negotiations to a greater extent than we have previously been led to believe, and that the importance of the Murphy-Lewis confrontation has been greatly exaggerated. The evidence also indicates that Murphy at the outbreak of the strike in all probability held 1,650 shares of GM stock, with a market value of more than $100,000 as of December 31, 1936.[49] One wonders if the UAW would have

[47] Lewis to Murphy, June 18, 1937, *ibid.*

[48] Speech by John Lovett, Apr. 1937, 6, Joseph H. Creighton Memorandum to Murphy, May 11, 1938, Speech by Murphy, Oct. 21, 1938, 12, Strike Chronology, Feb. 1, 1937, Murphy Papers; transcript of interview with Hill, Aug. 21, 1963, 22–23, in my possession; Lunt, "Career of Murphy," 247; New York *Times,* Jan. 29, 30, Feb. 3, 9, 1937; Norman Beasley, *Knudsen: A Biography* (New York, 1947), 168–69; G-2 Journal, Feb. 10, 1937, G-2 Periodic Reports, Feb. 10, 11, 1937, National Guard Records. There are several extant versions of Fisher's statement to Murphy regarding bloodshed.

[49] Murphy transferred 1,650 shares of GM stock from his Manila to his New York broker on October 3, 1936. He received the GM dividend of $1.50 per share on this same number of shares on December 12, 1936. The market value of GM stock as of December 31, 1936, was $63.50 per share. The stock subsequently seems to have been transferred to Murphy's sister,

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sought to discredit Murphy, as it had succeeded in discrediting Judge Black, had it known that the Michigan governor was at the time of the strike, or at least very recently had been, the holder of a sizable block of GM stock.

Murphy, aided throughout by Conciliator James F. Dewey, involved himself in the strike as a mediator even before the Battle of the Running Bulls, but his efforts as a peacemaker came to naught since GM refused to negotiate while the strikers held its plants and the union was unwilling to withdraw from the plants unless GM first recognized it, agreed to keep the struck plants closed and not to remove any equipment from them until a national agreement was concluded, and promised not to coerce its employees.[50]

At the insistence of the governor, negotiations were resumed after the violence of January 11 had resulted in the dispatch of Guardsmen to Flint. When Murphy brought the negotiators face-to-face on January 14, he informed them that the strike would have to be settled in accordance with the principles of law and order. "No one," he declared, "should wish or attempt to place the Governor of this state in the position of suspending the law of the land. This is not right and he is not going to do it."

If Murphy followed the notes that he seems to have taken with him to this conference, he suggested that GM meet the union demand for exclusive bargaining rights by accepting the UAW as the representative of "a *large* if not the largest organized group of employees." The union, he apparently said, should withdraw from the plants since there could be "no serious dispute" that it was in "unlawful possession" of GM property. Similarly, the union could not insist that the corporation make a definite commitment regarding the removal of its equipment during the period of the truce lest this qualify GM's lawful control over its own property, but GM might nevertheless state its intentions in this regard. The next day, largely as the result of Murphy's efforts, a truce was concluded, with GM declaring its intention not to reopen its plants or remove equipment from them during the scheduled period of negotiations.[51]

Mrs. William Teahan, and was sold by her on January 18, 1937, at an estimated profit of over $50,000. (Hayden, Stone and Co. to Murphy, Oct. 3, 5, 1936, Eleanor Bumgardner to Kemp [Dec. 31, 1936?], copy of Murphy's 1936 income tax return, J. E. Swan to Mrs. Margaret [Marguerite] Teahan, Dec. 29, 1937, Murphy Papers; GM, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report, Year Ended Dec. 31, 1936* (n. p., 1937), 56; New York *Times,* Jan. 1, 1937.

[50] Draft of agreement, Jan. 7, 1937, Knudsen to Murphy, Jan. 8, 1937, Knudsen statements, Jan. 9, 1937, Martin to Murphy, Jan. 9, 1937, Murphy Papers; Detroit *News,* Jan. 10, 1937; Kraus, *Many and the Few,* 122.

[51] Murphy statement, Jan. 14, 1937, "Notes," Jan. 14, 1937, Knudsen *et al.* to Murphy, Jan. 15, 1937, Murphy Papers; Brophy, "Struggle for an Auto Union," 11–12, Brophy Papers. The "Notes" of January 14 and the law-and-order statement of February 3, noted above, were almost certainly prepared by Murphy's close friend and legal adviser, Edward G. Kemp, who had a more conventional view of law and order than Murphy did.

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Following the collapse of the January 15 truce agreement, Perkins took charge of the negotiations in Washington, but she was unable to bring Sloan and Lewis together. During the Washington talks, Murphy offered to surround the struck plants with the National Guard while negotiations were in progress if the strikers were evacuated. Lewis accepted a similar proposal during the Chrysler sit-down strike in March 1937, but he rejected Murphy's proposition in January. Although the proposal would appear to have been agreeable to many of the strikers, Lewis was unwilling to accept any plan for the evacuation of the plants that did not grant the union exclusive bargaining rights.[52]

When the UAW's seizure of the Chevrolet No. 4 plant markedly heightened strike tensions, Perkins asked Murphy to resume control of the negotiations in Michigan. She informed him on February 2 that Lewis would arrive in Detroit the next day, and she requested Murphy to summon Knudsen into conference with the CIO chief. Knudsen and Lawrence Fisher, however, advised Murphy that GM would not retreat from its position of refusing to negotiate with the union until the corporation's plants were evacuated unless ordered to do so by the President himself. Murphy very much opposed presidential intervention in this form since he believed that the intent was to embarrass Roosevelt, but the Secretary of Labor advised him that Roosevelt wanted him to tell the GM negotiators that it was the President's wish that they confer with the union representatives. Murphy transmitted this information to the management representatives, but still obviously unhappy with the idea, the governor tried to persuade Knudsen to omit any reference to the President from his letter agreeing to confer. General Motors, however, believing it necessary to explain to the public why it was now consenting to negotiate while the sit-down remained in effect, stated in its letter to Murphy of February 2 that it was agreeing to a conference because the governor had indicated that this was "In accordance with the wish of the President," and "The wish of the President of the United States leaves no alternative except compliance."[53]

Perkins makes it appear in her memoirs that President Roosevelt, after helping to arrange for the resumption of strike talks, played no significant part in the ensuing negotiations.[54] As we shall see, however, Roosevelt involved himself directly and indirectly in the strike talks that began on

[52] Perkins Memorandum to the President, Jan. 19, 1937, President's Secretary's File [hereafter cited as PSF], Roosevelt Library; G-2 Periodic Reports, Jan. 23, 1937, National Guard Records.

[53] Strike Chronology, Feb. 2, 1937, Murphy to Knudsen, Feb. 2, 1937, Knudsen to Murphy, Feb. 2, 1937, Murphy Papers; Donaldson Brown to Sidney Fine, Aug. 18, 1964.

[54] Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York, 1946), 322, 323–24; Perkins to Fine, Apr. 30, 1964. It is possible that the former Secretary of Labor confuses two different events in her account of Roosevelt's intervention in the strike.

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February 3 and almost certainly used his influence to help secure acceptance of the agreement that finally brought the strike to a close.

Mainly, Roosevelt worked behind the scenes, urging Murphy on and expressing a willingness to speak to the union and management representatives in support of one or another peace plan. At no time, however, did he evidence any desire to take charge of the negotiations personally. Possibly his caution was accounted for by his recollection of the prolonged criticism that organized labor had directed at the settlement that he had arranged for the automobile industry on March 25, 1934;[55] possibly he simply wanted to avoid becoming involved in the conflict between the AFL and the CIO that was being exacerbated by the UAW's quest for exclusive representation.[56] Had Murphy been a poor negotiator, the President might have been compelled to involve himself more openly in the efforts to settle the strike. As it was, he was delighted with the manner in which the Michigan governor was handling the negotiations, and he was as reluctant as Murphy to have the National Guard used to evict the strikers.[57]

The President called Murphy on February 4 and asked him to tell the negotiators that the public welfare demanded that they settle the strike. Roosevelt offered to convey this message personally to Knudsen or Lewis if Murphy thought this necessary. On that same day the union retreated a bit from its original position by proposing that GM recognize it as the bargaining agency only for the employees of the twenty plants then on strike rather than for all the corporation's employees. General Motors also took a step toward a settlement on the same day by declaring that it would not "sponsor, aid or abet" any organization in opposition to or paralleling the UAW. It stated that it recognized and would not interfere with the right of its employees to join the union and that it would not discriminate against or coerce any employees because of their union membership. It was also willing by this time to declare that it would not conclude an agreement with any other organization that contained more favorable terms than it granted the UAW.[58] But GM would not yield on the crucial issue of exclusive representation: it would recognize the union as the collective bargaining agency only for those employees in the struck plants who were

[55] The President's settlement provided for proportional representation in the choice of employee representatives rather than majority rule and exclusive representation.

[56] The AFL, from the start of the strike, opposed the grant of exclusive bargaining rights to the UAW. (See Galenson, *CIO Challenge to AFL,* 142–43; William Green *et al.* to Murphy, Feb. 6, 1937, Murphy Papers; and Kraus, *Many and the Few,* 269.)

[57] Detroit *News,* Jan. 31, 1937; Strike Chronology, Feb. 4, 5, 1937, Creighton Memorandum to Murphy, May 11, 1938, Murphy Papers; Roosevelt to Samuel I. Rosenman, Nov. 13, 1940, President's Personal File 64, Roosevelt Library.

[58] Strike Chronology, Feb. 4, 1937, Proposals of UAW, Feb. 4, 1937, "Recognition," Feb. 4, 1937, Murphy Papers; Proposal for General Motors-Lewis Agreement [Feb. 5, 1937?], PSF.

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members of the union. It would be necessary to resolve the difference between the company and the union on this point if the strike were to be terminated.

The next day, February 5, GM supplemented its statement on recognition of the previous day by agreeing to the conduct of a poll among the employees of the struck plants to determine the extent to which the UAW represented these workers. The election was to be conducted under the auspices of Murphy not less than sixty days after the resumption of work. General Motors did not say that it would accept the UAW as the representative of all the workers in these plants should it win a majority in this poll, and its plan could readily have served as a basis for some form of proportional representation. The UAW was not, however, interested in any kind of poll of membership at this point since it was far from confident that it could make an impressive showing. Neither it nor GM, thus, for different reasons, was anxious to invoke the election procedure for which the National Labor Relations Act provided.[59]

It appears from the evidence in the Murphy Papers that the governor concluded on February 5 that the hope for a settlement lay in a formula that would afford the union the degree of recognition and the status in the struck plants that GM had already indicated it was willing to concede but that deferred any decision on the troublesome question of exclusive representation for several months, at which time it would be resolved by collective bargaining, the examination of union membership cards, a poll, or the appointment of a board by the President. Since Roosevelt had advised Murphy once again earlier in the day that he would be willing to talk to Knudsen and Lewis and to help reconcile what he thought was the small difference between them, the governor asked Perkins that afternoon to request the President to express to the two men his approval of the peace formula. Roosevelt might tell Lewis, Murphy advised, that the proposed plan would gain him exclusive representation and that he would therefore be yielding nothing in accepting it. Murphy did not indicate how he had arrived at this conclusion.[60]

On the basis of her conversation with Murphy, the Secretary of Labor prepared a memorandum for the President to use in speaking to Knudsen and Lewis, and, as Murphy had suggested, she advised the President to tell Lewis that the plan would, in effect, grant him the exclusive representation that he was seeking for the UAW.[61] The next day, February 6, Roosevelt

[59] GM to Murphy, Feb. 5, 1937, Murphy Papers; Alinsky, *Lewis,* 138; Detroit *News,* Jan. 13, Feb. 9, 1937; New York *Times,* Jan. 26, 1937.

[60] Strike Chronology, Feb. 5, 1937, Murphy Papers.

[61] Memorandum for the President, Feb. 5, 1937, Proposal for GM-Lewis Agreement [Feb. 5, 1937?], Memorandum for the President's conversation with John Lewis and with Knudsen and Brown [Feb. 5, 1937?], PSF. Whereas Murphy talked of a truce period of six to nine

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spoke to Lewis and Knudsen on the phone, presumably following the memorandum that the Secretary of Labor had prepared for him.[62]

On the same day, but we do not know whether it was before or after the President spoke to Knudsen, GM handed Murphy a confidential letter setting forth its own alternative to the union's demand for exclusive representation. The UAW, GM declared, insisted that it must have exclusive representation because GM would otherwise proceed to bargain with other groups in order to undermine the UAW's position. The company had said that it had no intention of doing this, and, as evidence of its good faith, it would now agree with the governor for a period of ninety days after the basic agreement went into effect not to bargain with any other organization in the struck plants regarding matters of general corporation policy without first submitting the facts to Murphy and gaining his sanction for this procedure. This arrangement would leave the UAW, for all practical purposes, as the sole bargaining agency for a period of three months, but would permit GM to avoid any statement to that effect in the proposed agreement and did not commit it to accept any particular plan of representation once the truce period had expired.[63]

Lewis was willing to accept a ninety-day truce only if the truce agreement specifically granted exclusive bargaining rights and thus at least recognized the principle for whose recognition the UAW was striving. Murphy supported Lewis on this issue, but, as the governor informed the Secretary of Labor, GM would "not under any circumstances agree to it." Murphy, sometime during the day on February 8, therefore suggested to Perkins that the President might ask Lewis to accept the GM proposal of February 6,[64] but the governor abandoned this approach that evening after he had had "a grand talk" with Lewis in which Lewis had agreed that if GM would extend the truce period from three months to six months, he would accept the February 6 proposal even though it did not, in so many words, concede the principle of exclusive representation.[65]

All that now remained to achieve a settlement was to secure GM's approval for the extension of the truce period. Since Knudsen and Fisher in Detroit were apparently unwilling to make this concession on their own,

months, the memorandum Perkins prepared for the President limited the period to four months. The Perkins memorandum said nothing about how the issue of representation was to be resolved at the end of the truce period.

[62] Strike Chronology, Feb. 6, 1937, Murphy Papers.

[63] GM to Murphy, Feb. 6, 1937, Strike Chronology, Feb. 6, 1937, *ibid.*

[64] Strike Chronology, Feb. 7, 1937, *ibid.;* Memorandum for the President, Feb. 8, 1937, Official File [hereafter cited as OF] 407-B, Roosevelt Library; GM Statement, Feb. 8, 1937, Brown Collection. Alinsky claims that Roosevelt tried to persuade Lewis to accept a truce period of three months or less. (Alinsky, *Lewis,* 133–34.)

[65] Strike Chronology, Feb. 8, 1937, Murphy Papers. Unlike the confrontation of the next day, the Murphy-Lewis meeting of February 8 seems to have been devoted to a discussion of the terms for settling the strike rather than to the issue of law and order.

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Murphy asked Perkins to speak to Sloan or, better still, to have the President do so.[66] It is possible that Murphy said at this time that if Roosevelt did not want to involve himself, Marvin McIntyre, the President's secretary, should "insist on it at the request of the president" since Knudsen had said, "if the president told them they would do it."[67] McIntyre called Knudsen that day, but the GM official was either unwilling or unable to agree to a longer truce period; for when McIntyre called Murphy a few minutes after he had spoken to Knudsen, the governor said: "The Boss has to get in touch with Sloane [*sic*] or the Duponts [*sic*]—tell them this is okay."[68]

The next night, as GM continued to hold out for a ninety-day truce, Murphy confronted Lewis with his law-and-order letter and warned him that if a settlement were not immediately negotiated, the governor would read the statement to the other conferees the next morning and would also make it public. Carl Muller, a Detroit newspaperman and a close friend of Murphy, claims that Murphy on this occasion "grabbed Lewis by the coat collar, and in no uncertain terms told him the men would get out of the plants 'or else.'" George Murphy, the governor's brother, declared in an interview that Lewis told Murphy after the letter had been read, "Governor you win," and Murphy himself has described the event as "the turning point" in the strike.[69] The fact of the matter is, though, that Lewis did not alter his position in the slightest as the result of the February 9 confrontation with Murphy. The union leader had insisted on a six-month truce before the letter was read to him, and he continued to insist on a six-month truce after the letter had been read. It was GM that now had to be persuaded to yield.

Murphy had asked for the assistance of Washington in securing GM's consent to a truce period of six months, and that assistance was forthcoming. Not only had McIntyre spoken to Knudsen on February 8, but the next day Secretary of Commerce Daniel Roper talked to Donaldson Brown, a GM vice-president who represented Sloan in the negotiations with the union, and that same day or the next day S. Clay Williams, at Roper's request and in response to Perkins' desire that the aid of an "outstanding" business leader should also be enlisted, talked with Sloan and Brown. Brown explained to Roper that GM was less interested in the length of the "experiment" than in "the phraseology relating to a definition of the words 'exclusive bargaining agents' in such an experiment."[70] Brown was seemingly unaware that

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Pencil notes attached to copy of Strike Chronology [Feb. 8, 1937?], *ibid.*

[68] Strike Chronology, Feb. 8, 1937, *ibid.*; Beasley, *Knudsen*, 169.

[69] Subcommittee of Senate Committee on Judiciary, *Nomination of Frank Murphy*, 10; Carl Muller, "Frank Murphy, Ornament of the Bar," *Detroit Lawyer*, XVII (Sept. 1949), 183; Interview of George Murphy, Mar. 28, 1957, 4, Michigan Historical Collections; pencil notes by Murphy (Aug. 1938, undated folder), Murphy Papers. For Lewis' account of how he "frightened" Murphy into not executing the order, see Alinsky, *Lewis*, 144–46.

[70] Roper Memorandum for McIntyre, Feb. 10, 1937, OF 407-B; Donaldson Brown, *Some*

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Lewis by this time had decided that the substance of the GM concession was more important that its form and no longer was insisting on an outright grant of exclusive bargaining rights.

It was probably more than the inclusion of satisfactory "phraseology" in the final agreement, however, that caused GM to retreat on the question of the length of the period during which the UAW would enjoy a favored position in its plants. The corporation's automotive production had dwindled to the vanishing point, and it must have appeared to GM negotiators, who were unaware of Murphy's law-and-order letter to Lewis,[71] that the sit-downers were simply not going to be dislodged from its plants in the near future and that the company's automotive production would not be resumed until an agreement with the UAW was reached. General Motors was also undoubtedly responding to the informal pressure being exerted from the White House through McIntyre and Roper. When Knudsen later reported that "the Government practically ordered" the settlement of the strike, it may well have been the President to whom he was referring. The corporation, after all, had been warned by one of its officials at the very outset of the strike that the temper of the times required it to adopt a reasonable posture toward unionism in its plants and not to forget that "there has been an election."[72]

The negotiations continued until 2:35 a.m. on February 11, when a weary Murphy was finally able to announce that peace terms had been arranged. The news that the strike had been ended made Murphy the hero of the hour, and praise was lavished upon him by government officials from the President on down, business and labor leaders, the press, and the general public. Murphy had "succeeded," as Josephus Daniels put it, "in what most people thought was an impossible achievement." *Time* reported that it was "apparent that the first vehicle to roll off General Motors' revived assembly lines will be a bandwagon labeled 'Frank Murphy for President in 1940.'"[73] Murphy's "star" seemed "in the ascendant"[74] on February 11, and had not the GM strike been followed by a rash of sit-downs across the land and especially in Michigan, it is unlikely that Murphy would have been subjected to the severe criticism that was soon to be directed at him and that was to plague him for the remainder of his days.

Reminiscences of an Industrialist (n.p. [1957]), 96. Williams was given substantially the same information as was conveyed to Roper.

[71] Kemp, "Murphy as Government Administrator."

[72] Detroit *News*, Oct. 29, 1937; SMD [DuBrul], "The Problem of Union Agreements," Dec. 31, 1936, GM Appendix Documents, Sec. 1.

[73] Daniels to Murphy, Feb. 12, 1937, Murphy Papers; *Time*, XXIX (Feb. 22, 1937), 14; for praise of Murphy as a peacemaker, see the Murphy Papers for Feb. 12, 1937 ff., Murphy Scrapbook #12, and New York *Times*, Feb. 12, 1937.

[74] "Governor Murphy's Star Is in the Ascendant" is the title of an article by Russell B. Porter in the New York *Times Magazine*, Feb. 21, 1937.

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The Origins of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte:* Scholarship, Politics, and the American Occupation, 1945-1949

JOHN GIMBEL*

THE origins of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* reveal, in detail, certain aspects of the German response to the American occupation: the dilemma of postwar Germans who assumed responsible positions under the occupation; the alternatives Germans considered; the ultimate decision that lay open to them; and the political causes for certain contemporary views regarding the occupation, the National Socialist regime, and the future course of German history.

Germans who were elected or appointed by military government to responsible positions under the American occupation had to try to gain public acceptance and to perpetuate and justify themselves in the absence of power, authority, and freedom to function as political leaders normally do to accomplish these ends. They could hardly hope to govern with skill and efficiency in a dismembered Germany. They had little to say regarding the basic nature of de-Nazification, despite the Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism. They could do little to revive their depressed economy so long as decisions on the level of industry, exports, imports, reparations, and industrial dismantlement were reserved to the occupying powers who could not agree on economic unity in the Allied Control Council. German leaders could not follow an independent policy regarding land reform, civil service legislation, refugee affairs, and educational and political reconstruction. In short, Germans who assumed responsible positions were severely limited in their search for acceptance and justification. Their frustrations were a direct result of the complete collapse (*Zusammenbruch*), the unconditional surrender, the June 5, 1945, declaration of Allied supreme authority, and the exigencies of the occupation.[1]

* Mr. Gimbel is an associate professor at Humboldt State College. He wrote *A German Community under American Occupation: Marburg, 1945–1952* (Stanford, Calif., 1961).

[1] For a review article on the literature covering German internal developments during the occupation and for a commentary on its shortcomings, see Friedrich K. Fromme, "Zur Inneren Ordnung in den Westlichen Besatzungszonen, 1945–1949," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* X (Apr. 1962), 206–23. For some of the more useful literature on military government policies and practices, the condition of Germany under occupation, and the problems of four-power control, see Michael Balfour and John Mair, *Four Power Control in*

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Germans might have chosen to entrench themselves and remain secure after the withdrawal of the occupation by deriving sufficient power from military government. But that choice was reprehensible and risky: it was reminiscent of Quisling, and it courted eventual rejection when the occupation ended. Furthermore, the American military government's aloofness and neutrality toward German political differences precluded such a choice.[2] The American military government, moreover, literally forced Germans into the political arena by demanding early elections, constitutional conventions, and democratically elected legislatures and executives.[3]

Forced by the circumstances of the war and the occupation to accept conditions, policies, and programs not of their own making, deprived of clear military government support, and driven by the necessity of early elections, German leaders in the American Zone conceived an agency to help solve their unique problem: how to gain public acceptance, to perpetuate and justify themselves in the absence of the power, authority, and freedom political leaders normally enjoy.

It is, thus, significant, and apparently no accident, that the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* originated at the same time that the American Zone *Land* (state) constitutions, *Landtage* (state legislatures), and cabinets began effective operation in January 1947. The originators and promoters of the *Institut* were among the responsible, thoughtful Germans who came forward after 1945 to constitute the leadership corps of postwar Germany. They conceived the *Institut* to solve a unique political problem, and the expectations, hopes, and differences they expressed in debate are an index of the

Germany and Austria, 1945–1946 (London, 1956); Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (Garden City, N. Y., 1950); Wilhelm Cornides, *Die Weltmächte und Deutschland: Geschichte der jüngsten Vergangenheit 1945–1955* (Tübingen, 1957); Eugene Davidson, *The Death and Life of Germany: An Account of the American Occupation* (New York, 1959); Ernst Deuerlein, *Die Einheit Deutschlands: Darstellung und Dokumentation* (2d enlarged ed., Frankfurt, 1961); Wolfgang Friedmann, *The Allied Military Government of Germany* (London, 1947); C. J. Friedrich *et al., American Experiences in Military Government in World War II, American Government in Action* (New York, 1948); Hajo Holborn, *American Military Government, Its Organization and Policies* (Washington, D. C., 1947); Elmar Krautkrämer, *Deutsche Geschichte nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg: Eine Darstellung der Entwicklung von 1945–1949 mit Dokumenten* (Hildesheim, 1962); E. H. Litchfield *et al., Governing Postwar Germany* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1953); Edgar McInnis *et al., The Shaping of Postwar Germany* (New York, 1960); Boris Meissner, *Russland, Die Westmächte und Deutschland* (Hamburg, 1953); Peter Merkl, *The Origin of the West German Republic* (New York, 1963); and Harold Zink, *American Military Government in Germany* (New York, 1947), and *The United States in Germany, 1944–1955* (Princeton, N. J., 1957).

[2] "United States Military Government never deviated from its policy of political neutrality." (Clay, *Decision in Germany*, 293.)

[3] The sources cited are in the *Staatskanzlei* and *Staatsarchiv* of Hessen, Wiesbaden, the *Bundesarchiv* of the Federal Republic of Germany, Koblenz, the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, Munich, and the Bavarian Ministry for Education and Culture, Munich. Hessen, "Niederschrift . . . Kabinettsitzung am 30.11.1945," Geiler Nachlass, Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden, contains a description of military government pressure for early elections. Länderrat, Kurzbericht . . . Sitzung vom 4.12.45, Staatskanzlei files, Wiesbaden, contains references to the German opposition to early elections.

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major currents of political thought that emerged during the occupation. They are also a source for pinpointing the political impact of the occupation as its policies changed. There is no evidence that its founders regarded the *Institut* as an agency of action that would respond to specific military government policies and practices. Its semipublic character separated it from the institutions that responded and reacted to specific policies and practices. Furthermore, their debates on the *Institut* were always at a theoretical and general level, in response to the broader impact of the occupation.

The initial recommendation for the *Institut* reportedly came from Ernst Steinbach who was director of the *Landesstelle für Heimatdienst* for Württemberg/Baden. His proposal went to Erich Rossmann, general secretary of the American Zone Minister-Presidents Council *(Länderrat des amerikanischen Besatzungsgebietes)* early in January 1947.[4] Rossmann drafted a statute and a justification for an "office for political documentation." The agency would establish and maintain an archive for the Nuremberg documents that would be inherited from the Allied Control Council. It would sponsor research in the documents and such other related materials that it would collect, and it would prepare documents and research reports for popular circulation.[5]

"One of the essential tasks of the new democracy," said Rossmann's statement of justification, "is the documentary illumination of the Hitler period. The knowledge thus gained should, for political and cultural reasons, be implanted in the public conscience. The political re-education of the people must rest on thorough knowledge of recent German history, and the description of the Hitler period is particularly significant in this respect." Rossmann's original proposal became the basis for a series of meetings, discussions, and debates throughout 1947. On February 13, 1947, the *Direktorium*[6] (Executive Committee) of the *Länderrat* agreed on the necessity

[4] The *Länderrat* was composed of the American Zone Minister-Presidents Hans Ehard, Bavaria; Christian Stock, Hessen; and Reinhold Maier, Württemberg/Baden. In April 1947 Wilhelm Kaisen, Bremen, joined after *Land* Bremen had become part of the American Zone. The official history of the *Länderrat* is Lia Härtel, *Der Länderrat des amerikanischen Besatzungsgebietes* (Stuttgart, 1951). A brief account in English is Heinz Guradze, "The Länderrat: Landmark of German Reconstruction," *Western Political Quarterly,* III (June 1950), 190–213.

[5] "Amt für Politische Dokumentation beim Länderrat des amerikanischen Besatzungsgebietes. Satzung. Begründung," Jan. 21, 1947, Bundesarchiv, Z 1/888. There is also, in the same file, an earlier draft, dated January 3, 1947. "Protokoll, Interne Sitzung des Länderrats des amerikanischen Besatzungsgebiets . . . 26. April 1949," Anlage 2, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.

[6] The *Direktorium* was made up of *Land* representatives (*Sonderbeauftragten der Länder*), who were *Staatssekretär* Anton Pfeiffer, Bavaria; *Staatssekretär* Walter Strauss, Hessen; and *Staatssekretär* Hermann Gögler, Württemberg/Baden; and *Land* plenipotentiaries (*Bevollmächtigte der Länder beim Sekretariat*), who were *Ministerialrat* Gebhard Seelos, Bavaria; *Ministerialrat* Emil Graf von Wedel, Hessen; and *Staatsrat* Konrad Wittwer, Württemberg/Baden.

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for an office of political documentation.[7] Believing the agency conceived by Rossmann's draft proposal to be somewhat premature, the *Direktorium* asked the *Land* governments to explore the idea further. It agreed, however, that the functions of the office should be to collect archives and promote the dissemination of information from them (*wissenschaftliche Erfassung des Materials* [and] *propagandistische Auswertung*).

Accordingly, by March 26, 1947, the *Länder* governments had each appointed officials (Hesse named Kuno Okhardt; Württemberg/Baden, Wilhelm Vogel; and Bavaria, Hans Pregler, Franz Eheberg, and a *Legationsrat* Dr. Staudacher) charged with collecting and disseminating propagandistic materials. Vogel eventually worked out an elaborate proposal asking the cooperation of editors, publishers, newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, illustrated magazines, radio, and motion picture theaters in the American, British, and French Zones of occupation. He suggested the use of placards and slogans that could be repeated through all possible media on selected days.[8]

In the meantime, on April 14, 1947, the designated *Land* government officials and others met in Stuttgart for an exploratory discussion on organization and functions of the proposed office for political documentation. The meeting produced a series of recommendations, including one that the office be located at Erlangen University, near the Nuremberg documents that would be inherited from Americans. The *Länderrat Direktorium,* on May 22, 1947, accepted the April 14 recommendations and added a procedural plan drafted in the interim by Ludwig Preller of the *Länderrat* staff. Hesse, through *Sonderbeauftragter* Walter Strauss, reserved its right to object to a university affiliation; the reservation forced an additional exploratory discussion.[9]

At Stuttgart, on June 20, 1947, the question of location still had to remain unsettled, although Bavaria's spokesman, Friedrich Glum, put in a strong bid to have the office located in Munich, where it could function as an affiliate of the Historical Commission, reportedly staffed by former Foreign Office personnel who could be employed to "instruct the people regarding the historical facts of the 3rd *Reich* and the war." The Hessian objection to a university institute was not allayed by this move. In fact, one Hessian delegate interpreted the new Bavarian suggestion as an attempt by the Chris-

[7] Kurzprotokoll, Dreiundzwanzigste Tagung des Direktoriums des Länderrats am 13. Februar 1947, Bundesarchiv, Z 1/888.

[8] Rossman to Vogel, Mar. 31, 1947, Vogel to Ludwig Preller, June 11, 1947, *ibid.*

[9] "Vorbesprechung . . . Errichtung eines 'Amts für politische Dokumentation' . . . 14.4. 1947 . . . Stuttgart," Apr. 21, 1947, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden; "Bericht des Generalsekretärs an das Direktorium über die politische Dokumentation," May 3, 1947, Bundesarchiv, Z 1/888; "Bericht des Generalsekretärs des Länderrats über die politische Dokumentation, 21.5.47," Anlage 1 to Kurzprotokoll, Zweiunddreissigste Tagung des Direktoriums des Länderrats am 22. Mai 1947, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.

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tian Socialist Union to capture the office for use as a party propaganda agency. Nevertheless, the Stuttgart meeting of June 20, 1947, determined the basic form of the office as it eventually emerged: It would be a research institute to study the Third *Reich*. It would have an administrative council (*Verwaltungsrat*) made up of two representatives from each *Land* government (one from the *Kultusministerium* and one from the *Staatskanzlei*). It would have a directorate (*Vorstand*) made up of four to seven recognized scholars and politicians to direct the work projects and be responsible for publications. It would have an executive secretary (*Geschäftsführer*) whose training and interest were in history and publication. The institute would establish and maintain an archive; it would promote scholarly research; and it would engage in a public information program even while the collection and preparation of materials for scholarly research were under way.[10]

One week later, June 27, 1947, the *Direktorium* referred the Stuttgart proposal of June 20 to the *Land* governments.[11] The Hessian cabinet, on July 2, registered serious objections to the existing proposal. It agreed that gathering documents was the first order of business, but insisted that a publication series for popular consumption must appear simultaneously. Furthermore, since scholarly historical interpretation of the Third *Reich* was premature, a directorate, particularly one weighted with scholars, was unnecessary. The institute's immediate and primary tasks were in the nature of sovereign, political acts (*staatshoheitlicher und/oder politischer Natur*), and it must be politically controlled by an administrative council (*Verwaltungsrat*) made up of *Land* government representatives.[12]

Faced with the Hessian cabinet's objections and Bavaria's refusal to accept the Hessian conditions, the *Länderrat Direktorium* resolved to ask the *Land* governments for a new committee (two from each *Land*) to meet again in Stuttgart to draft a charter and present it to the *Direktorium*.[13] This new committee met on August 6, 1947, and proposed that an institute be created by contractual agreement between the *Länder*. It prepared a contractual charter (*Stiftungsurkunde*), which will be described below. The

[10] "Vorbesprechung . . . Errichtung eines 'Amts für politische Dokumentation' . . . 20.6. 1947 . . . Stuttgart," and Anna Beyer, "Bericht an den Herrn Ministerpräsidenten . . . , Betr.: Amt für politische Dokumentation beim Länderrat," July 7, 1947, *ibid.*

[11] "Bericht des Herrn Generalsekretärs an das Direktorium über die politische Dokumentation, 27.6.1947," Anlage 1 to Kurzprotokoll, Fünfunddreissigste Tagung des Direktoriums des Länderrats am 27. Juni 1947, *ibid.*

[12] Graf v. Wedel to *Sekretariat des Länderrates,* July 8, 1947, Anlage 1 to Kurzprotokoll, Sechsunddreissigste Tagung des Direktoriums des Länderrats am 10. Juli 1947, *ibid.*

[13] Friedrich Glum and Dieter Sattler, who represented the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture and the State Chancery respectively, appear to have furthered and promoted the Bavarian position most effectively. The latter is credited, in documents apparently prepared in 1950, with having explored the idea of a research institute on National Socialism as early as 1945. (See Paul Kluke, "Das Institut für Zeitgeschichte in München," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte,* XII [1954], 240, for similar credit.)

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committee differed so fundamentally that it failed to resolve the issue of scholars' participation and control or to decide on the institute's affiliation with a university. Hesse, under no circumstances, would approve a university affiliation. Hesse and Bremen wanted scholars as advisers only. Bavaria and Württemberg/Baden, on the other hand, favored delegation of authority to scholars to direct the work of the institute and believed Hesse's insistence on a government controlled agency to be a move to establish a state propaganda ministry. Hesse's delegate had feared, earlier, that the CSU in Bavaria had similar intentions, but Bavaria's and Württemberg/Baden's delegates seemed especially concerned about the image of the institute at home and abroad. They believed that control by scholars and publicists of international repute would ensure a proper image and the institute's acceptance.[14]

The dispute in the committee on August 6, 1947, carried over to the *Direktorium* meeting of September 4, 1947. Despite a compromise worked out by Preller, Hesse's representative remained adamant. He objected to Munich as the location of the institute and insisted on a predominantly political representation on the controlling bodies. The cleavage was so deep that the issue had to be referred to the Minister-Presidents' Council—the highest German political body in the American Zone—on September 8, 1947.[15]

The Minister-Presidents achieved a compromise that honored Hesse's wish for decisive political control, despite certain concessions Hesse made. Whereas Hesse had insisted that the administrative council (now called *Kuratorium*) retain absolute control, its Minister-President, Christian Stock, finally accepted control—within limits set by the *Kuratorium*—over the institute's work by the directorate (now called *Wissenschaftlicher Rat*).[16] Hesse had also wanted a *Wissenschaftlicher Rat* weighted with politicians, but settled for up to twelve especially qualified persons of importance as scholars, politicians, or publicists.[17] The *Kuratorium* would make the actual appointments.

The charter (*Stiftungsurkunde*), completed on September 8, 1947, and finally approved by the Minister-Presidents in an official act on October 7, 1947, created by contractual agreement of the *Länder* Bavaria, Bremen, Hesse, and Württemberg/Baden the *Institut zur Erforschung der National-*

[14] "Bericht des Herrn Generalsekretärs an das Direktorium über die politische Dokumentation, 4.9.1947," Anlage 1 to Kurzprotokoll, Einundvierzigste Tagung des Direktoriums des Länderrats am 4. September 1947, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.

[15] Interne Länderratssitzung am 8.9.1947 . . . , *ibid.*

[16] "Der Wissenschaftliche Rat arbeitet die Richtlinien für die Arbeitsweise des Instituts für das Kuratorium aus, macht dem Kuratorium Vorschläge über einzelne Arbeitsaufgaben und wirkt bei der Verteilung der Arbeitsaufgaben mit." (*Ibid.*)

[17] "Ihm sollen bis zu 12 fachlich besonders geeignete Persönlichkeiten von wissenschaftlicher, politischer und publizistischer Bedeutung angehören." (*Ibid.*)

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sozialistischen Politik to be located in Munich. The *Institut*'s functions were to collect and catalogue documents, reports, and statements regarding the backgrounds and history of the National Socialist period; to promote the "education of the public" (*Unterrichtung der Öffentlichkeit*); and to prepare for eventual scholarly description and analysis of the period. The *Kuratorium,* consisting of two representatives from each *Land* government, was empowered to prepare the bylaws of the *Institut,* set the budget, and issue directives relating to the formation and work of the *Institut.* It would select the executive secretary, with the advice of the *Wissenschaftlicher Rat,* and approve contracts with other employees. The *Wissenschaftlicher Rat* was charged with directing the work of the *Institut* and supervising its activities within the limits set by *Kuratorium* directives. It was to consist of a maximum of twelve especially qualified persons of importance as scholars, politicians, and publicists, selected and subject to removal by the *Kuratorium.* The initial funds for the *Institut* would be a contribution of twenty thousand reichsmarks from each of the contracting states. The charter was for ten years.

The disputes, the false starts, and the delays in the organization of the *Institut,* in 1947, suggest that the issues were more fundamental than the questions of organization and location. They penetrate, in fact, to the very core of the German postwar dilemma after "point zero" (*Nullpunkt*): the complete destruction of the Nazi regime, the unconditional surrender, the assumption of supreme authority by the Allied declaration of June 5, 1945, and the collapse of German political, social, and economic order to the lowest level. In discussing the organization, purpose, and functions of the *Institut,* Germans immediately touched on the wide range of unresolved questions that plagued Germans since the collapse of the Third *Reich.* Should the occupation be viewed as an interregnum? A mere turning point? Or a new departure? Did 1945 ("point zero") usher in a period of grace (*Gnade des Nullpunkts*) during which Germans, prodded and aided by the effort of the occupation, could start anew?[18] Or did 1945 set the stage for a restoration of a political, social, and economic order eclipsed by National Socialism and its postwar consequences?

The dispute regarding the control of the *Institut* and its immediate objectives reflects these deeper questions clearly. The position that the *Institut*

[18] In the Potsdam Agreement the Allied Powers committed themselves to a program of democratization in Germany. Among other things, American military government approved the organization of political parties, allowed shop steward elections, and scheduled early elections and constitutional conventions to permit the development of democratic practices and procedures. It also considered its more punitive measures as preparatory to a more lasting foundation for democracy in Germany because they helped to remove the non- or antidemocratic elements from German society and political life.

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should be controlled by politicians and publicists, that it engages in sovereign, political acts, that its function is to educate the public with object lessons from the history of the Nazi period, seems to rest on the hope that the post-war period of grace might prove to be a turning point or a new departure. It is significant that Hesse and Bremen (Social Democratic strongholds) most consistently supported this position. On the other hand, the argument that the *Institut* be directed and managed by scholars, that it engage in a long-range search for scholarly analysis—perhaps in affiliation with a university—played down the need for a rapid re-education program and implied a continuity of German history now that Nazism had been destroyed and the war was ended. In this view, the occupation was an interregnum, a period of grace only in the sense that it would permit a restoration of the old pre-Hitler order and tradition. The fear of Bavaria and Württemberg/Baden that the *Institut* would be a state propaganda ministry was, in part, based on the desire to establish a proper image, but also on the belief that Hesse's aim was to use the *Institut* to promote public acceptance of change. Hesse's insistence that the *Institut* engage in sovereign, political acts was positive enough. On the negative side, the Hessian Minister-President made clear his lack of faith in German scholars as enlightened political persuaders. They had, he said, "performed a poor political service for Germany" in the past.[19]

A second dispute, regarding the audience and appeal of the *Institut*'s publications, reflects the unresolved problems more precisely. One view, expressed first by the Bavarian delegate, *Legationsrat* Staudacher, on April 14, 1947, was that the *Institut*'s establishment presented an extraordinary opportunity for Germany.[20] It should focus on the question of German guilt. First, it should publish materials to show the Allied negotiations with (for example, recognition of) Hitler. Particularly useful would be archives from the photographers Heinrich Hoffmann (Hitler's) and Helmut Laux (Joachim von Ribbentrop's), materials of the Nuremberg prosecution, and materials from the defense of Franz von Papen, Hans Fritzsche, and the SS. Second, the *Institut* should demonstrate that the Weimar Republic was never given a chance by the rest of the world.[21] Lastly, the *Institut* should prepare studies on the German resistance to promote respect for Germans abroad.

The proposal reflects a body of thought characteristic of German traditionalists who saw the occupation as an interregnum only in so far as it

[19] "Die Wissenschaftler haben Deutschland politisch einen schlechten Dienst geleistet." (Interne Länderratssitzung am 8.9.1947 . . . Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.)

[20] "Vorbesprechung . . . Errichtung eines 'Amts für politische Dokumentation' . . . 14.4.1947 . . . Stuttgart," Apr. 21, 1947, *ibid.*

[21] The obvious reference to the impact of Versailles, reparations, and war guilt is implied, not stated.

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would permit restoration to the pre-Nazi status. The *Gnade des Nullpunkts* was a period of grace during which the occupation must be convinced that National Socialism is a phenomenon of the twentieth century, the danger of which the Allies themselves did not recognize in the beginning. Germany happened to be the stage upon which the fascist drama was played. The Weimar Republic, which might have provided resistance to a Hitler, was doomed by the outside world from the beginning. But there were Germans (the resistance) who saw the evil, who opposed it, and who should receive recognition in the name of Germany.[22] In short, the German tradition, represented by the example of the resistance and the statesmen who had come forward under the occupation, should once again be the touchstone for the future. De-Nazification, dismantlement, disarmament, and the entire punitive program of the occupation were, in effect, unrealistic in that they failed to recognize the true nature of National Socialism, its divorce from the German tradition, its conspiratorial origins, its limited popular support, and its demise upon the death, disappearance, or arrest of the leaders. According to this view the *Institut* would focus on educating the occupiers and their governments to accept Germans—the non-Nazi, postwar "other Germans."[23]

Preller, the *Länderrat* delegate at the meeting, objected to the Bavarian's suggested foreign-oriented emphasis and argued for a different, domestic-oriented approach. The *Institut,* he said, should concentrate on the illumination of the National Socialist state in all its details. It should describe the development, the atrocities, and the failures of the past thirteen years as object lessons for the German people. It should demonstrate, in particular, the drastic consequences of the *Führerprincip*. Politicians, teachers, trade-unionists, and youth leaders should be recruited to hammer home the fact that Germany had gone through a thirteen-year phase for which Germans were responsible and for which they must do penance in various forms, many of which were demanded by the occupation forces.

This counterproposal reflects the thinking of the postwar German re-

[22] One man said: "The Institute can contribute positively to the promotion of a moral crusade showing that National Socialism did not captivate the entire German people." Another said: "The Institute will collect all available material about the German resistance. Such material is certainly adaptable to support various German moves [*Solches Material sei sicher geeignet, manche deutschen Schritte zu stützen*]." (Protokoll der Sitzung des Verwaltungsausschusses des Deutschen Büros für Friedensfragen am 17. Oktober 1947 . . . München, Staatsarchiv, Wiesbaden.)

[23] The apparent faith that undergirds this position is noteworthy. Though the research had not been done, though it would be done by scholars, though it would rest on the documents of the period, there seems to be little doubt that the conclusions already reached will simply be verified by the scholarly research. In 1949, but only then, this faith was examined. One man questioned the wisdom of the close connection between scholarship and politics. Another expressed the fear that scholars would attempt to excuse those who had followed the lead of the Hitler regime. Still another feared that scholarship would be too slow to provide useful material. (Protokoll . . . 4.Sitzung des Kuratoriums des Instituts zur Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Politik am 30. Mai 1949 . . . München, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.)

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formists who saw the occupation as a turning point (for the moderate wing) or as a new departure (for the radical wing). The *Gnade des Nullpunkts* was the period during which they could organize, gain a following, and begin the institutional transformations necessary for the establishment of a "new Germany," democratic in spirit as well as in name. Thus, the occupation's punitive programs have a basis, a reason. De-Nazification would remove Nazis and make room for a new ruling elite; demilitarization would reduce the power of the former "Prussian" or military elite; industrial dismantlement would reduce the former economic and financial elite; democratization would permit the rise of a new elite. Taken together, the occupation's program created the conditions for a social, economic, and political revolution. The new political leaders, as do all Germans, carry the burden of National Socialism's consequences, and they must accept the occupation. The record of the German resistance and the willingness of those who came forward after the collapse immaterially alter those consequences.[24] Germany's future rests, perhaps, on disassociation with the past that had produced National Socialism and such ineffective resistance to it. The new postwar leaders should cooperate with the Allies in their revolutionary aims and should provide the German people with an educational program based on knowledge of the Nazi period. Such knowledge would show the inability of the former elites and institutions to cope with Hitler; it would convince even the most callous that Germans must pay for their past sins.

The two foregoing alternatives, debated in April 1947, reveal the two horns of the German statesmen's dilemma after 1945: in dealing with the occupation, Germans had to try to mitigate the theory of collective guilt and all it stood for to get relief from the punitive program of the occupation, to gain acceptance among their constituents, to give them political leverage, and to permit a certain independence to promote reconstruction; in dealing with their fellow Germans, on the other hand, postwar German statesmen had to admit the evils of Nazism to explain the necessity for de-Nazification, industrial dismantlement, and the other punitive programs of the occupation—none of which they could change—to gain support and status in their position, which was restricted by the occupation forces.

[24] At least one attempt to counteract this view is seen in the hope that adequate studies of the resistance would show that large numbers of very important people lost their lives fighting the Nazi regime. Such an accounting would give Germans something to lay on the table when needed to prove the sacrifices that Germans themselves made in the battle against National Socialism. The German losses might, in fact, exceed those of the American Army. (Hessisches Staatsministerium, Der Minister der Justiz, to Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen, Sept. 12, 1947, Bundesarchiv, Z 1/888. Fritz Eberhardt to Preller, Sept. 30, 1947, in transmitting the foregoing letter to the *Länderrat* for the proposed *Institut,* said: "Die Angelegenheit scheint mir sehr wichtig und sehr dringend zu sein. . . . Tatsachen des Widerstands sind teilweise nicht zureichend bekannt. Ihr Bekanntwerden mag die deutsche Position bei etwaigen Friedensverhandlungen sehr erleichtern.")

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There is no evidence that these two alternatives were ever joined, or that they could be, so long as Germans remained collectively suspect and the occupation professed revolution through reform. Neither is there evidence that any large segment of Germans, except Communists and Left-wing Socialists, made an effective choice between them. Herein lies, perhaps, the reason for the inability of the *Institut* to get much beyond the discussion stage before 1950. By 1950, as will be shown, the military government's policy changes removed one of the horns of the dilemma.

The problem of choice that hampered other Germans after 1945 encouraged Communists, Left-wing Socialists, and other unorganized radicals. They bore all the outward signs of opposition to National Socialism. They had been in the concentration camps; their parties had been harried; they had been arrested, persecuted, and few had joined the Nazi party or its affiliates. Collective guilt obviously could not apply to them, and they, therefore, stood above the dilemma of other Germans. Furthermore, they were truly revolutionary and apparently saw little need to justify themselves except by the program they proposed for the future and the power they could wield to accomplish the revolution.

The history of the American military government's initial policies and actions in Germany shows the advantage enjoyed by those who could either choose between the alternatives or stand above them.[25] The military government appointed many leftists to leading positions in the civil administration, in military government agencies, and in the licensed and controlled press and radio. Such radicals could demonstrate clearly their opposition to National Socialism, and their views seemed to be most nearly in accord with the military government program to promote what later came to be called an "artificial revolution."[26]

But the American military government's own evolution eventually removed the dilemma of nonleftist Germans and, as a direct result, ensured victory for the traditionalists and the eclipse of the Communist and radical "reformist" influence of the early occupation. The latter were certainly never in the majority, and the change in the military government's emphasis made it possible for the traditionalists to resume respectability.[27] As first economic recovery, which eventually required the formation of Bizonal economic

[25] See my *A German Community under American Occupation: Marburg, 1945–1952* (Stanford, Calif., 1961), for full documentation.

[26] John D. Montgomery, *Forced to Be Free: The Artificial Revolution in Germany and Japan* (Chicago, 1957).

[27] This evolution or change in the military government exposes its professed political aloofness and neutrality for the delusion and self-deceit it was. Military government was, in fact, in a most advantageous position to direct the course of German political life, and it did so. The proclamations of neutrality are, perhaps, more indicative of the secondary interest Americans had in the German domestic political scene in the face of the overriding interest of the US in Europe, the world, and its own domestic politics.

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agencies in 1946, then reduction in the cost of the occupation, then West German political unity, coupled with the desire to stem the tide of Communism in Central Europe came to dominate the thinking and action of General Lucius Clay and the occupation, many of the original problems expressed in the *Institut*'s earlier debates disappeared.

The story of when and how the foregoing changes occurred, how they manifested themselves, and what they meant in detail has not been told adequately. Though the current literature on the occupation is extensive and helpful, we need much more elaborate and detailed analysis of the unsuccessful United States struggle for central German administrative agencies in 1945–1946 and its relationship to the formation and development of the American Zone *Länderrat* after October 1945. We need studies on the Bizonal agencies in 1946, on the political character of the Bizonal reorganizations in 1947 and 1948, and on the broader significance of the September 6, 1946, Stuttgart speech by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes together with the developments in Germany that it confirmed (not initiated). We need a study of the US Zone program of early elections (local in 1945 and 1946) and *Land* self-government (effective January 1, 1947) and its relationship to the American encouragement of US Zone Germans to promote German central administrations or unification through interzonal conferences, discussions, and other forms of cooperation beginning early in 1946 and highlighted by the abortive four-zonal Minister-Presidents' conference in Munich in June 1947.

The research I have done to date permits the suggestion that American practices, in effect, changed policy earlier than current literature and tradition would have us believe, that the new German leadership was aware of the trend and significance of the changes, that Americans in Germany encouraged Germans to conduct themselves in such a fashion that the changes might be made more acceptable in the United States, and that Americans pushed changes over the objections of many of the Germans themselves. What had been only a tendency in practice beginning late in 1945 and extending into 1947 became fixed policy in 1948.

The London Foreign Ministers Conference failed to reach a German settlement in November and December 1947; the Bizonal agencies were strengthened in January 1948; Czechoslovakia capitulated in February; the Berlin blockade crept up in March and fell in June; currency reform came in June; the Allied invitation to form a West German government came in July; German constitutional experts met in August; and the parliamentary council convened in September. Manifesting the shifts in policy, Americans changed (1946 and 1947) then abandoned (1948) de-Nazification—too

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rapidly for Germans who had been committed publicly to the program and could hardly pull out in midstream.[28] Bizonal economic cooperation in 1946 and 1947 then Marshall Plan aid in 1948 replaced or nullified the effect of industrial dismantlement. For reasons and in stages too detailed to include here, Germans gained increasing freedom to determine their own educational patterns, civil service policies, land reform programs, and so on. In short, the punitive program was finished, and military government dedicated itself to the road back.[29]

The abandonment of the military government's punitive program made the argument against collective guilt unnecessary, but it also removed one of the major reasons for a "domestic-oriented" public information program, at least in the short run. German leaders no longer had to justify to their constituents their participation in a regime committed to the punitive program of de-Nazification, industrial dismantlement, and so on. The program's abandonment was, in itself, evidence of its original foolishness, and German politicians denounced the early military government efforts, their impact, and particularly the near revolution they promoted by supporting the leftist groups early in the occupation. Thus, the political formula of anti-Communism, coupled with a healthy dislike for the occupation's early punitive program—a formula that had been tried with success on the political hustings at the local level since 1945—gave promise of producing results at the national level.[30]

As the *Institut*'s original urgency faded in the face of the changing situation in Germany, and for immediate practical reasons, the *Institut* devel-

[28] Most instructive on de-Nazification's changes in particular, but important also for its reflection of the general American emphasis on recovery and reconstruction, are the minutes of a meeting between the American Zone *Land* de-Nazification ministers and Mr. T. E. Hall, United States Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS), on March 19, 1948. Hall tried to persuade the ministers that de-Nazification must end, that economic recovery must take precedence over de-Nazification, and that employment is more important than political removals. The German de-Nazification ministers hesitated to apply the drastic curtailment that Americans wanted, in part because they said many Germans would go free, though others had already been de-Nazified for similar activities. Since de-Nazification was such a key item in the American punitive program, its virtual abandonment by OMGUS, despite the hesitation of the de-Nazification ministers, marks clearly and sharply the drastic shift that had occurred by March 1948. (Protokoll . . . ausserordentliche Sitzung des Entnazifizierungsausschusses beim Länderrat am 19. März 1948 . . . Staatsarchiv, Wiesbaden.)

[29] See, as an example of this dedication, Office of Military Government for Hesse, Historical Report, 1948, I, Narrative, particularly pages 158–59, (mimeographed), OMGUS Records, National Archives, Alexandria, Va.

[30] See my *A German Community under American Occupation,* Chap. XI. The course of the so-called "Spiegel Affair" in 1962–1963 and other incidents and events seem to suggest the continuation of the tradition. It should be noted, however, that the formula is not inconsistent with the current political view that the Allies (especially Americans) were directly responsible for the rapid recovery of Germany, through Marshall Plan and other aid. The former is basically a program that stemmed the tide of Communism, that rests on a repudiation of the early punitive policies, and that helped to eclipse the revolutionary elements in West Germany that had gained such a foothold in the first two years of the occupation despite the traditionalist attempt to contain them.

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oped slowly. At meetings in Munich on October 16, 1947, and November 25, 1947, the *Kuratorium* established criteria for and selected the *Wissenschaftlicher Rat*.[31] Glum, whom Bavaria had designated as temporary executive secretary, sought General Clay's and the American military government's aid in the collection of documents, only to find great interest but commensurate difficulty.[32] The release of key Foreign Office, *Reich*'s Chancery, and other government documents of the Nazi period required agreement at the government level between the US, Britain, and France. The *Institut* came to a virtual standstill. No meetings were held between November 25, 1947, and December 8, 1948. The *Wissenschaftlicher Rat* never held its organizational meeting, originally planned for January 1948. The attempt to secure a first-rate permanent director failed in July 1948. The original grant of money, paid only by Hesse and Bavaria in inflated reichsmarks just prior to the currency reform, lost its value in June 1948.[33]

Informal discussions were revived in July 1948, on the initiative of Hermann Brill, the Hessian chairman of the *Kuratorium*. They continued informally at the Herrenchiemsee Conference of constitutional experts in August. Then, on December 8, 1948, the *Kuratorium* members who were at the parliamentary council sessions in Bonn agreed to push for an early *Kuratorium* meeting. They hoped to secure a Trizonal agency to include the entire West German area now forming a political unit and to replace the inoperative *Institut* founded for the American Zone on October 7, 1947.[34]

At a formal meeting of the *Kuratorium* on February 27, 1949, and a joint meeting of the *Kuratorium* and *Wissenschaftlicher Rat* on February 28, the discussion returned to details. The *Kuratorium* named the Bavarian *Landtag* member and economist, Gerhard Kroll, temporary director of the *Institut*. It recommended a Trizonal organization; it heard a detailed report on the collection of documents; and it discussed purposes and functions. Significantly, the idea that the *Institut* be used to re-educate the Allies on the

[31] Sitzung betreffend "Institut zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Nationalsozialistischen Politik," Oct. 16, 1947; Protokoll . . . Sitzung des Kuratoriums zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Nationalsozialistischen Politik, Nov. 25, 1947, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.

[32] The evidence in the documents suggests that American military government officials did not participate actively in the origins of the *Institut*. The military government did, however, make available certain documents collected during the Nuremberg Trials. Apparently certain American individuals (mentioned, but unnamed, in the documents) expressed encouragement from time to time, but the presence of an American observer is recorded in the minutes of only one of the many meetings and discussions on the *Institut*. The meeting was at Stuttgart on April 14, 1947.

[33] Protokoll . . . Zusammenkunft von Mitgliedern des Kuratoriums zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Nationalsozialistischen Politik, Bonn, Dec. 8, 1948, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.

[34] *Ibid*. The meeting was attended by the *Kuratorium* members Brill, Hesse; Anton Pfeiffer and Rudolf Holzhausen, Bavaria; Fritz Eberhardt, Württemberg/Baden; and Walter Haas, Bremen. Also in attendance were Gerhard Kroll, the temporary director of the *Institut;* Ludwig Bergstrasser, a member of the *Wissenschaftlicher Rat;* and Rudolf Vogel, a staff member of the *Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen*.

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question of German guilt was apparently dead. The concern for re-educating the German people had undergone a similar significant change. In 1947 the emphasis had been on explaining National Socialism, its consequences, and its responsibility for the condition of Germany (de-Nazification, dismantlement, economic controls, food shortages, travel restrictions, requisitions, and so on) under the punitive programs of the occupation. Now, in 1949, the major concern was to counteract the feverish research and publication programs being sponsored by the Soviet Zone Germans and their West German sympathizers. Anti-Semitism, which was thought to be still alive, should also be counteracted. Among the specific studies recommended was one on the suppression of the trade-unions on May 2, 1933, and one on "Hitler and Bayreuth."[35]

The question of control by politicians or scholars still proved critical, especially because the temporary director was a member of the Bavarian *Landtag*. Several members of the *Wissenschaftlicher Rat* objected to his political position and his academic discipline, which was not history, but economics. Again, the idea of affiliation with an academic institute (like the *Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften*) was suggested, but to no avail.

The *Kuratorium*'s February 27–28 recommendations for additional financial support and for expansion of the *Institut* to the three Western zones came before the American Zone *Länderrat* on April 26, 1949.[36] The major discussion was on finance, the effect of the currency reform, and the hindrances that finance ministries had put on the work of the *Institut*.[37] The suggestion, again from Bavaria, that the *Institut* be affiliated with a university received short treatment. The upshot was a resolution that the four original member *Länder* should contribute twenty thousand marks each and that the *Institut*'s future should be placed on the agenda of the next Trizonal Minister-Presidents' conference.

The Minister-Presidents of the British, French, and US Zones, meeting in Bad Godesberg on May 12, 1949, resolved to form a Trizonal *Institut*. They appointed a Trizonal study commission consisting of Brill of Hesse (US Zone), Heinrich von Brentano of Baden (French Zone), and Hans-Siegmund Danckwerts of Lower Saxony (British Zone). The commission met in Munich with the original *Kuratorium* and others on May 30, 1949, to

[35] Protokoll . . . 3.Sitzung des Kuratoriums des Instituts zur Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Politik . . . Feb. 27, 1949, and Protokoll . . . gemeinsame Sitzung des Kuratoriums und des Wissenschaftlichen Rates des Instituts zur Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Politik am 28. Februar 1949, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.

[36] Protokoll, Interne Sitzung des Länderrats . . . Apr. 26, 1949, *ibid.*

[37] The most outspoken "reformist" individuals expressed the suspicion that a group of scholars who had tried to gain control of the *Institut* in 1947 and again in 1949 had convinced the finance ministers to stalemate the *Institut*'s development so that it could be reorganized as a scholars' institute affiliated with a university. (See esp. *ibid.*) There were, however, strong personal reasons for the conflict between certain scholars and politicians.

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draft an agreement, an organizational plan, a work schedule, and a budget. The *Wissenschaftlicher Rat* was not invited, and the discussion produced the observation that the *Kuratorium* is the controlling body ("Das Schwergewicht solle beim Kuratorium liegen.").[38]

The agreement drafted on May 30, 1949, repeated the purposes of the original October 7, 1947, American Zone *Institut:* to establish archives, promote public education, and prepare for scholarly publications. Its seat would be Munich. The *Kuratorium,* consisting of one representative and one deputy from each *Land* would set policy, draw up the bylaws, prepare the budget, recommend publications, and issue work requests. It would select the director in consultation with the *Wissenschaftlicher Rat.* The latter, consisting of twelve especially qualified persons,[39] would direct the work of the *Institut,* maintain liaison with other institutes and archives, and promote international contacts. It would be appointed initially by the *Kuratorium,* but could recommend replacements in the future. The *Institut* would be financed by an initial grant of DM 20,000 from each *Land;* thereafter the annual budget would not exceed DM 500,000. The agreement was drafted for ten years. On August 5, 1949, at Wiesbaden, the Minister-Presidents of the three Western zones resolved to approve the establishment of the *Institut* and to secure their cabinets' approval as well.

The different tone and purposes evident in the discussions of 1947 and 1949 are highly revealing. The basic political-educational objectives remained: "The work of the *Institut* will make sense only if, along with the scholarly benefits derived from the study of National Socialism, thought be given to the political education of the German people; and if the proposed publications have not merely an academic character, but also the character of political tracts."[40] But the need, espoused in 1947, to educate the Allies and the foreign world on German guilt, on the work of the resistance, on the Allied contribution to Hitler's respectability, and on the apparent misunderstanding of totalitarianism had disappeared in 1949. Gone, also, was

[38] Some of the scholars protested vigorously that the political leaders were prejudicing the future of the *Institut.* Again, the personal animosities are difficult to separate from the principles. (Protokoll . . . 4.Sitzung des Kuratoriums des Instituts zur Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Politik am 30. Mai 1949, and Brill to *Ministerpräsident,* Hesse, Nov. 4, 1949, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.)

[39] The minutes state, however, that the *Kuratorium* is bound to consider the scholarly, political, and journalistic background in making the selections. ("Das Kuratorium ist gebunden, bei der Auswahl dieser Persönlichkeiten, auf die wissenschaftliche, politische und publizistische Bedeutung besonders zu achten.") Further, the minutes reveal the general consensus that the *Wissenschaftlicher Rat* should consist of politically useful people. ("Die Mitglieder dieses Beirates müssen auch politisch brauchbar sein, nicht nur dozieren, sondern auch ein politisches Verhalten haben.") (Protokoll . . . 4.Sitzung des Kuratoriums des Instituts zur Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Politik am 30. Mai 1949, *ibid.*)

[40] Gerhard Kroll, "Stellungnahme des Deutschen Instituts zur Erforschung des Nationalsozialismus zu einer Denkschrift von . . . ," Sept. 20, 1949, *ibid.*

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the wish to use a portrayal and analysis of National Socialism to justify de-Nazification, demilitarization, industrial dismantlement, and other harsh measures with which the ruling elite were identified by necessity of the occupation. The hope that a public information program about the National Socialist period would swing the German people to support a basic reform program—a peaceful revolution through rejection of the past—had been stilled in 1949. In fact, one of the major concerns was to counteract the effects of the publications of Soviet Zone Germans regarding the Nazi regime, the VVN (Union of Nazi Persecutees) regarding the concentration camp atrocities, and others who claimed to represent the new, reformed, "other Germany."[41]

Among the new objectives in 1949, which did not emerge in the earlier discussions in 1947, were the desire to learn why the Weimar Republic had failed, to avert the rise of a new Hitler myth, to counteract the popular publications that tended to glorify Hitler, Herman Göring, Eva Braun, the German military, and so on.[42] It would appear, from these new objectives, that the German elite of 1949 had clearly reidentified with the past—with the Weimar tradition—and that they were most interested in discovering how Germany had succumbed to Hitler and the militarists so that it would not be possible again. The job could not be trusted to scholars because they had performed a poor political service in the past, because they lack proper political orientation, and because some scholars were suspected of trying to prevent the proper analysis of National Socialism lest it reveal their own capitulation. The *Institut* must be an all-German agency with a more politically coordinated program than was possible under a variety of competitive research institutes established in academic centers.

In 1950, after still other hesitation and difficulties after August 1949, the *Deutsches Institut zur Erforschung des Nationalsozialismus* was officially opened in a public ceremony. The new *Institut*'s development after 1950 is beyond the scope of this paper.[43] It appears to enjoy the image of an institute dedicated to the long-run search for truth and knowledge through basic research. It has come to enjoy the reputation of being one of the leading institutes for the study of contemporary history in Germany. Its journal, the

[41] Specific concern was expressed about the publication series of Soviet Zone institutes in the Brandenburg *Landesarchiv* and in Leipzig and Dresden. The VVN was publishing a series called "Die Stimme des anderen Deutschlands." (Brill to *Ministerpräsident,* Hesse, Nov. 4, 1949, *ibid.*)

[42] "Die Berichterstattung über den Nationalsozialismus in Form von Hintertreppenromanen müsse eingedämmt werden." (Protokoll . . . 4.Sitzung des Kuratoriums des Instituts zur Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Politik am 30. Mai 1949, *ibid.*)

[43] See Kluke, "Das Institut für Zeitgeschichte in München," 238–44, for a sympathetic description. But, see Joachim Höppner, "Das Institut für Zeitgeschichte in München und seine Arbeit im Dienste der militaristisch-klerikalen Herrschaft des westdeutschen Imperialismus," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* VII (No. 2, 1959), 346–67.

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Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, is among the best in its field. Its bibliographies on contemporary history are invaluable, and its publication series has illuminated the history of Germany under National Socialism.

Its origins, however, reveal that the overriding impulse of its founders was political in nature. Despite reservations about the wisdom of combining scholarship and politics,[44] the founders deliberately opted for the unity of scholarship and politics, in no small measure because of their conviction that separation of the two had been so disastrous under the Weimar Republic.[45] The story of the *Institut*'s origin is, thus, a significant case study reflecting the German political response to the occupation between 1945 and 1949. The response tended toward traditionalism rather than reform, toward restoration rather than reconstruction.

[44] "Fraglich sei, ob es grundsätzlich richtig sei, Wissenschaft und Politik zu verkoppeln. . . . Wissenschaftliche Forschung und Propaganda lassen sich schwer miteinander vereinen." (Protokoll . . . 4.Sitzung des Kuratoriums des Instituts zur Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Politik am 30. Mai 1949, Staatskanzlei, Wiesbaden.)

[45] See esp. Gerhard Kroll, "Stellungnahme des Deutschen Instituts zur Erforschung des Nationalsozialismus zu einer Denkschrift von . . . ," Sept. 20, 1949, *ibid.*

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Colonial Court Records and the Study of Early American History: A Bibliographical Review

MICHAEL G. KAMMEN*

THREE decades ago a historian interested in the origins and growth of American legal institutions found it exceedingly difficult to locate printed source material germane to this neglected line of inquiry. He was even less likely to find such records competently edited or accompanied by illuminating introductory studies. Consequently a number of historians and persons interested in the process of American development who were conscious of this deficiency determined to encourage study of the stages by which our legal apparatus developed and gradually became differentiated from its British antecedents.[1]

A conference to examine the problem was held in New York early in 1930 under the auspices of the American Historical Association. As a result a committee on legal history—including Felix Frankfurter, Charles M. Andrews, Evarts B. Greene, and Richard B. Morris, and encouraged by Justice Louis Brandeis—was organized to formulate a program. After lengthy discussion they agreed to inaugurate a series of volumes presenting hitherto unpublished sources for American legal history, "each volume to include suitable editorial matter intended to clarify the text and to suggest its bearing upon the development of political, economic, and social, as well as strictly legal institutions."[2] Despite the fact that judicial opinions were not recorded in the English colonies and yearbooks were not issued, a

* Mr. Kammen, coeditor of *The Glorious Revolution in America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1964), is a member of the history department at Harvard University. His major interest is the colonial period of American history.

[1] This review is not intended as an exhaustive survey, but rather as a guide to work done in recent years when new interest has been generated. For court records published before 1930, see Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law, with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1930), 266–73; for more recent literature, see William Jeffrey, Jr., "Early New England Court Records," *American Journal of Legal History,* I (Apr. 1957), 119–47, and Herta Prager and William W. Price, "A Bibliography of the History of the Courts of the Thirteen Original Colonies, Maine, Ohio, and Vermont," *ibid.,* I (Oct. 1957), 336–62, II (Jan., Apr. 1958), 35–52, 148–54.

[2] *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695–1729,* ed. Carroll T. Bond and Richard B. Morris (Washington, D.C., 1933), iv.

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considerable corpus of court records lay scattered about and neglected. Hence an endowment was secured, the Littleton-Griswold Fund, and work began.

The first volume appeared in 1933, the *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695–1729,* edited by Carroll T. Bond, chief judge of that court, in collaboration with Professor Morris. In the thirty-two years since, eight more volumes have appeared. All of them are colonial court records, but are very diverse in their geographic origins, periods treated, and the quality of their presentation.[3] In most instances the task of preparing the records for publication has been entrusted to a legal historian working with an authority on the political history of a particular colony,[4] and for the most part the big blue books have sustained a high level of scholarship, although one, the *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671–1779,* is structurally weak,[5] and several others have serious shortcomings. Morris' *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674–1784,* is probably the best of the lot: it is a well-organized model of erudition prefaced by an introduction that traces the mayor's court back to its medieval origins.

Meanwhile others began to break fresh ground in an area of dense thickets and previous impenetrability, for undeniably the technical complexities of English law reached their apogee during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Inspired by the American Historical Association's decision to publish manuscript records of early courts, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts sought to make a similar contribution. Hence in 1933, under the aegis of Samuel Eliot Morison, it produced the *Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671–1680,* in two stout volumes with a long and learned introduction by Zechariah Chafee, Jr.[6]

[3] *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674–1784,* ed. Richard B. Morris (Washington, D.C., 1935); *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island, 1716–1752,* ed. Dorothy S. Towle, introd. Charles M. Andrews (Washington, D.C., 1936); *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson, 1772–1773,* ed. John T. Farrell (Washington, D.C., 1942); *The Burlington Court Book. A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence in West New Jersey, 1680–1709,* ed. H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller (Washington, D.C., 1944); *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671–1779,* ed. Anne K. Gregorie and J. N. Frierson (Washington, D.C., 1950); *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632–1640,* ed. Susie M. Ames (Washington, D.C., 1954); *Court Records of Kent County, Delaware, 1680–1705,* ed. Leon deValinger, Jr. (Washington, D.C., 1959); *Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland, 1696–1699,* ed. Joseph H. Smith and Philip A. Crowl (Washington, D.C., 1964). Of the projects now planned or in progress, the ones most likely to be published next are those relating to the North Carolina vice-admiralty court records, edited by Hugh T. Lefler and Carl Ubbelohde, and the Rhode Island court of equity records, edited by L. Kinvin Wroth.

[4] Occasionally there have been extra dividends from these endeavors, such as Susie M. Ames, "Law in Action: The Court Records of Virginia's Eastern Shore," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., IV (Apr. 1947), 177–91; and H. Clay Reed, "The Court Records of the Delaware Valley," *ibid.,* 192–202.

[5] See the discussion by John P. Frank, *ibid.,* VIII (Jan. 1951), 155–57.

[6] For one problem Chafee did not solve correctly involving criminal jurisdiction, see Mark Howe, Jr., "Records of the Suffolk County Court," *New England Quarterly,* VII (June 1934), 307–14.

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A few years later Preston W. Edsall discovered a manuscript that had always been given up as lost, the "Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey, 1683–1702." In 1937 this became the first and only publication of the short-lived American Legal History Society, an organization created in 1933 to encourage research and make documents available from the colonial period. The court of common right was an abortive experiment of the New Jersey proprietary government, which like the courts leet and commissary of Maryland left no lasting impact on American jurisprudence. It was an indigenous product, however, and a curious attempt to concentrate the administration of justice into the hands of one body. Edsall had made a great find, and his extensive introduction to the *Journal* is thorough and able.[7]

Between 1900 and 1940 better than fifty volumes of early legal records were published, but their existence was unrecognized, and their use was largely antiquarian. As an available body of sources they remained neglected. An attempt to remedy this was undertaken by Paul M. Hamlin, then director of research in colonial laws and legal institutions at the New York University Law School. Between 1939 and 1944 he supervised the preparation of nine pamphlets known as the "Anglo-American Legal History Series," which included Richard B. Morris' *Early American Court Records: A Publication Program* (New York, 1941). This is a masterful survey of manuscript court records to be found from Maine to Florida, with comments on their value for the historian. Most of them remain unpublished, and Morris' *Program* is yet a challenge and a road map.

Disparate offerings continued to appear during the 1940's, several of them the result of the Works Progress Administration and its Historical Records Survey.[8] The nationwide inventory of county archives, in fact, was first suggested by Francis S. Philbrick in 1934 on behalf of the American Legal History Society. Other court records that appeared in these years and after were sponsored by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania,[9] the West Tennessee Historical Society,[10] and private individuals.[11]

[7] See also George J. Miller, *Courts of Chancery in New Jersey, 1684–1696* (Perth Amboy, N.J., 1934).

[8] *Abstract and Index of the Records of the Inferiour Court of Pleas (Suffolk County Court) Held at Boston, 1680–1698* (Boston, 1940); *Minutes of the Town Courts of Newtown* [N.Y.], *1656–1690* (New York, 1940).

[9] *Records of the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1684–1700* (Meadville, Pa., 1943).

[10] *An Old Virginia Court; Being a Transcript of the Records of the First Court of Franklin County, Virginia, 1786–1789, with Biographies of the Justices and Stories of Famous Cases Transcribed, Annotated, Glossarized and Indexed,* ed. Marshall Wingfield (Memphis, Tenn., 1948).

[11] *Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. New Hanover County* [N.C.] *Court Minutes, 1738/1769–1794/1800,* ed. Alexander McDonald (4 vols., Bethesda, Md., 1958–62).

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The interest of local historical societies in preserving and publishing such documents actually antedates the concern of professional historians, lawyers, and their organizations, although the expressed intent behind many of the earliest court records printed was genealogical. Recently state and local groups have sponsored some excellent work in the presentation of court records, notably the historical societies of New York and Maine.[12] The three volumes on the *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1704,* prepared by Professor Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, constitute a magnificent illustration of what can and ought to be done in early American legal history. In what is easily the best harvest in a field that has only been tilled in earnest for a generation, Hamlin and Baker have presented a long and meticulous introductory volume, the minutes themselves (carefully annotated! an undertaking that virtually all other editors of colonial court records have shied away from), and a biographical dictionary of the bench and bar for their period.[13]

If the legal records of New York and Massachusetts have received the most careful treatment from historians, the early courts of Maryland have received the most systematic. The state historical society has now devoted fifteen volumes of its *Archives* series to proceedings of the provincial court, Court of Chancery, five of the seventeenth-century county courts, and even the Court of St. Clement's Manor—all but three of the fifteen since 1932.[14] Moreover, the proceedings of the governor and council on review cases are scattered through the administrative and legislative sessions of the council, most of them already published. Finally, we now have Morris L. Radoff's *The Country Courthouses and Records of Maryland* (2 vols., Annapolis, 1960–63).

Add to all this the first and most recent volumes in the "American Legal Records" series,[15] and we begin to have available the materials for a study of the administration of justice in one colony: a cross section of the provincial judicial system illuminating its several hierarchical levels. Because the backgrounds of the various colonies differed, and because their development in most cases followed different lines, their legal systems varied widely. Consequently the separate growth of each system will have to be studied be-

[12] *Province and Court Records of Maine, 1636–1668,* ed. Charles T. Libby (2 vols., Portland, Me., 1928–31); *Province of Maine Records, 1680–1692,* ed. Robert E. Moody (Portland, Me., 1947); *The Court Records of York County, Maine, Province of Massachusetts, 1692–1718,* ed. Neal W. Allen, Jr. (2 vols., Portland, Me., 1958–64).

[13] *Collections* of the New-York Historical Society for 1945–47, LXXVIII–LXXX (New York, 1952–59).

[14] *Archives of Maryland,* ed. William H. Browne *et al.* (69 vols., Baltimore, 1883–), IV, X, XLI, XLIX, LI, LIII–LIV, LVII, LX, LXV–LXIX. It is unfortunate that the Maryland Historical Society has decided not to publish any more county court records. The minutes of the provincial court will continue to appear at about the rate of a volume every second year.

[15] See notes 2 and 3, above.

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fore accurate generalizations can be made and a history of early American law synthesized.[16]

During the 1930's and 1940's a few monographic efforts even began to appear, but for the most part there were few capable scholars in a field of considerable difficulty.[17] Only in the past decade have we really begun to witness the flowering of interest in early American legal studies, and the conference on that subject held at Worcester, Massachusetts, in April 1964 stands as testimony to its development.[18] There have been significant works by Julius Goebel, Jr., Joseph H. Smith, and George L. Haskins, the leading specialists, and efforts by newer hands are also becoming available.[19] Breaking ground in still another part of the same field, the legal papers of Alexander Hamilton and John Adams are now being published and promise to add significantly to our knowledge of colonial court practice and the growth of the legal profession.[20]

Eight years ago the *American Journal of Legal History* was founded at the Law School of Temple University, and soon after that the editors there instituted the "American Trial Court Record Series," a microfilming project that has thus far concentrated on eighteenth-century court records in eastern Pennsylvania.[21] Finally, the recently established William Nelson Cromwell Foundation is primarily devoted to "research of the laws, judicial systems, legal procedure and legal history of the Colonial period of the United States of America." It has already subsidized the publication of *Colonial Justice in Western Massachusetts (1639–1702): The Pynchon Court Record* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), a document of tremendous importance edited by Professor Smith. Very few early records for courts below the county jurisdic-

[16] The death in 1957 of Arthur T. Vanderbilt, chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, was a considerable loss. For a number of years he had been engaged in research for a massive work, "The Development of the Administration of Justice in the United States," beginning with the colonial period. (See *American Journal of Legal History,* I [Oct. 1957], 275–77.)

[17] In a valuable bibliographical note Daniel J. Boorstin has observed that "lawyers insist that mere historians are not qualified to chronicle their subject, and historians find other less technical subjects more rewarding." (*The Americans: The Colonial Experience* [New York, 1958], 399–401.)

[18] The papers read and discussed at this meeting are being collected and prepared for publication by George A. Billias of Clark University.

[19] See, e.g., William W. Blume, "Civil Procedure on the American Frontier: A Study of the Records of a Court of Common Pleas of the Northwest and Indiana Territories, 1796–1805," *Michigan Law Review,* LVI (Dec. 1957), 161–224. Carl Ubbelohde's *The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1960), an excellent study, is less concerned with the courts as legal institutions than as causes of political discontent.

[20] *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton: Documents and Commentary,* ed. Julius Goebel, Jr., *et al.* (New York and London, 1964), I. The legal papers of John Adams are being edited by Hiller B. Zobel and L. Kinvin Wroth and will appear in three volumes early this summer.

[21] The Pennsylvania Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1778–1800; the Court of Quarter Sessions, Philadelphia County, 1721–1801; and the Court of Quarter Sessions of Lancaster, 1721–1801. (See "The American Trial Court Record Series," *American Journal of Legal History,* II [Jan. 1958], 66–67.)

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tion have survived, and this one affords intimate insights into the workings of frontier justice at the most fundamental level.

Clearly, then, interest in early American court records is burgeoning, and with it, *pari passu,* a new dimension in the study of colonial institutions. In conclusion we may well ask: why has it taken so long, and why has the process of maturation in this field been so slow? One reason is immediately obvious: the lack of qualified scholars. Capable lawyers in professional practice are reluctant to undertake such laborious tasks because there is so little remuneration. Judges are too busy, and members of law school faculties prefer to write scholarly articles on more contemporary problems for law journals. But there are two deeper causes basically responsible for this deficiency: courts acting as historians and the pervasive influence over several generations by the legal thought of the late Roscoe Pound.

As early as 1926, in a paper read before the American Law School Association, Goebel offered an explanation which he stated even more tersely in 1938.

> Early in post-Revolutionary judicial history the courts evolved the fiction, still cherished, that their competence on points of law embraced a judicial knowledge of its history, thus opening the door to an a priori method of historiography which has made the publication of records a matter of little or no consequence to the bar at large. The practical effect of this was to cast into the fumbling hands of laymen the complicated task of reconstructing the story of our law's growth from 1607 to 1783. Whether or not this reconstruction may approximate the truth is of little practical moment to the legal profession; the fictions of the courts regarding colonial law, invalid though they be as history, serve as a sort of insulation against the absorption of inept or inaccurate statements from without.[22]

The notion has persisted that after the Revolution judges undertook to decide what rules had been adopted in colonial times, acting on the assumption that their function to declare the law included a knowledge of its history. Since so little was known of what actually transpired in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the results of the early courts came to be regarded as worthless for historical purposes.[23] Goebel urged that a

[22] Julius Goebel, Jr., in review of *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island,* ed. Towle, in *American Historical Review,* XLIII (Jan. 1938), 403–404; see also James R. Wiggins, "Lawyers as Judges of History," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* LXXV (Boston, 1964), 84–104.

[23] The wave of postrevolutionary Anglophobia, moreover, firmly established the popular bias against lawyers and courts as residual annoyances left from days of royal servitude. Citizens in a young republic wondered why they should preserve legal precedents emanating from conditions under a tyrannical monarchy. (See Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World. American Culture: The Formative Years* [New York, 1964], 335–36; for the development of hostility against courts during the revolutionary generation, see Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1953], 139–43, 168–79, and Robert J. Taylor, *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution* [Providence, R. I., 1954], 27–33 ff.)

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more sensible view would be to require actual proof as to what colonial practice had been.

Meanwhile Dean Pound's enormous influence on the study of American law also tended to persuade potential scholars that the period before independence was not worth close examination. In *The Spirit of the Common Law* (Boston, 1921), he stated that "for most practical purposes American judicial history begins after the Revolution" (p. 113). In his view our judicial organization and the great body of American common law were the products of the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century (p. 114). Thus the colonists' earliest efforts at administering justice were experimental, "and it was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that the setting up of a system of courts and the rise of a custom of studying law in England began to make for a general administration of justice according to English law" (p. 115).

In *The Formative Era of American Law* (Boston, 1938), Pound continued to argue along these lines. He suggested that the seventeenth century witnessed the nadir of the bench in England under Charles II and James II, so that an unfortunate tradition of disrespect for judges was carried to the New World and was reinforced by the colonists' experience with royal judges. In consequence, judicial organization went forward slowly, and the personnel of the bench was for many years not such as to make judicial decision an active creative agency of the law (pp. 41–42, 91–92).[24]

All of this reflected considerable logic, but also cast a dim and pejorative light on the value of studying early American legal records. If precedent was the root of American law, then what preceded the Revolution seemed to be only of antiquarian interest. Without meaning to, Pound's emphasis on Blackstone and the common law tended to cast Coke and English local practice into the shadows. Research done in the past generation by Goebel,[25] Haskins,[26] and others, however, has shown that the terms, forms, and substantive law of early America were not necessarily those known to the king's

[24] Pound himself recognized a significant factor retarding the study of early American legal history: the peculiar character of nineteenth-century historical jurisprudence, when "the tendency was to restrict study of legal history to arbitrarily chosen periods which were assumed to be the significant periods in legal development. For the most part legal history meant history of Roman law down to Justinian, history of Germanic law to the reception of Roman law, and history of English law from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. It is noteworthy that the historical school had an instinctive dislike of the period from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century in which the law was remade under the influence of a creative philosophical theory and became the body of legal materials upon which the nineteenth-century systematists were at work." (Roscoe Pound, *Interpretations of Legal History* [Cambridge, Eng., 1923], 49–50.)

[25] Julius Goebel, Jr., "King's Law and Local Custom in Seventeenth-Century New England," *Columbia Law Review*, XXXI (Mar. 1931), 416–48.

[26] George L. Haskins, "Court Records and History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., V (Oct. 1948), 549.

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courts at Westminster. Rather they were the procedures of the county, manor, and borough courts, as well as courts leet and quarter sessions. Much of early American law was thus derived from the districts in England that produced the colonial migrations to America.[27]

Such conclusions as these are slowly forcing a new recognition of the importance and character of early American law and court practice. The editors of several volumes of colonial court records have found no evidence to support the older theories of a "reign of crude, untechnical law" in the provinces. Careful examination of the bench and bar, even on the county level, has brought about a rejection of the traditional suggestion that the men who pleaded before the courts were terribly inferior and that "a species of 'frontier jurisprudence' had thrust aside all semblance of orderly procedures derived from English practice."[28]

The effect of these revisions has been to liberate and stimulate new interest in the problems and practices of the courts in early America. This is a welcome trend, for clearly the continuities spanning several centuries are as significant as the changes that took place after 1783.[29] The recent publication of colonial court records has already begun to reshape our thinking about the origins of American legal institutions. Moreover, these rich accumulations of data may provide the necessary resources that will enable scholars to resolve the most perplexing issues concerning the history of colonial society: the extensiveness of democracy, mobility, and opportunity. If the availability of early court records helps us to formulate answers to these questions, we will have vindicated the hopes and intentions of those who met thirty-five years ago under the auspices of the American Historical Association to formulate a program.

[27] In his later years Pound took these conclusions into consideration and modified his earlier judgments. In July 1950 he delivered an address at the third International Congress of Comparative Law in London, in which he remarked that "there was . . . a strong bar in some of the chief cities on the eve of the Revolution and the courts came to be well organised in most of the provinces in the eighteenth century. The earlier colonists had had little contact with the central common-law courts in England and brought little if anything of English law with them. But they did develop some things independently and some features of the law of this period persisted." (Roscoe Pound, "The Development of American Law and Its Deviation from English Law," *Law Quarterly Review*, LXVII [Jan. 1951], 55.)

[28] *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, 1669–1679*, ed. Carroll T. Bond, in *Archives of Maryland*, LI (Baltimore, 1934), xxii; *Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland*, ed. Smith and Crowl, cxv.

[29] It is interesting to note that the *Court Records of Kent County, Delaware, 1680–1705*, ed. deValinger, were cited in the brief for appellant by Frederick Bernays Wiener in the Delaware apportionment case of *Roman* v. *Sincock*, 377 U.S. 695, decided June 15, 1964. The Supreme Court was not convinced, however, and applied the same rule to Delaware counties that it did in the other state apportionment cases.

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* * * * Reviews of Books * * * *

General

THE DEMOCRATIC CIVILIZATION. By *Leslie Lipson.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 614. $10.00.)

WHILE the number of books on democracy is legion, few writers have attempted a systematic assessment, not simply of the form of government, but of the social order that is the appropriate milieu and necessary content for both the adequate statement and the effective pursuit of democratic values. Such an undertaking has been overdue, and Professor Lipson has had not only the initiative to see the need and the ambition and energy to strive to meet it, but also the training in interrelated disciplines plus the experience of living in different parts of the world, particularly the democratic world, to make the undertaking promising. What is more, he has perceived rather clearly what is involved, has subdivided on the basis of meaningful criteria and with a proper sequence, has organized his materials effectively, and, while writing a far from niggardly treatment, has eschewed the temptation to be exhaustive and encyclopedic, and has seen the importance of both the typical example and the crucial test.

After a brief introduction that states the nature of politics, the materials relevant to its study, the methods of inquiry, the experience to be assessed, and the special grounds for a concern centered on the stated subject, the work is divided into four parts. The first, "The Criteria of Democracy," consists of two chapters, on the classical tradition and on the modern rebirth. In each the actual practice and the accompanying or derivative doctrines are described and subjected to judgment, as are the reasons for the long lacuna, and the assessments of democracy by major thinkers in the modern state who preceded that rebirth.

The next section, "The Democratic Society," opens with a discussion of where democracy has to some extent been achieved, what factors favor such achievement, and what impediments make realization variously improbable and signally imperfect. There follow discussions of race, language and religion, the geography of politics, with special emphasis on sea power (favorable) and land empire (dangerous and threatening), and the economic foundations, with emphasis on the industrial order.

The third section deals with "The Politics and Government of Democracy" and includes voting rights and techniques, direct legislation as related to popular participation and sovereignty, party systems, constitutional foundations, legislative bodies, the selection of leadership, and controls by and over it. (Strangely enough, Lipson does not concern himself with administration and

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bureaucracy as they function in and affect a democratic political-social order in the age of industrial technology.)

The final section, "The Democratic Values," states and analyzes the goods of that order as "liberty and equality," "majority rule," "minority rights," and the "public good," titles that allow analysis of the conditions for personal dignity and needs for ethically validated power exercised on behalf of order and welfare. This section also includes a final summary, which is, as is the whole work, firmly but quietly in favor of democracy as ethically superior and superiorly congruent with a mature society.

The qualifications of the author and the effectiveness of his organization lead the reader to anticipate a resounding success in his treatment of the book's two principal themes: "to examine the democratic forms of government and appraise it, and, along with this, to suggest a general theory of the political process." Yet somehow the enterprise fails, and the reader remains unsatisfied, indeed becomes irritated, and this despite Lipson's moderation, fair-mindedness, and firm commitment to the decencies and values of civilization.

The reason is a certain lack of force: the reader ends with no sense of compelling design. Nothing quite adds up; all stops short. The history does not move; the depiction of ideas and their development lacks elements necessary to clear and completed design; the sociological and anthropological assessment of the matrix of institutions leaves patterns incomplete and blurred; the comparative method does not clarify, but ends in uncertainty as to what is meant or implied; and the analysis of central concepts in political ethics is not sufficiently penetrating to convince, though adequate enough to lull. Causes and consequences, the situation, prospects, needs, and opportunities of democracy are neither firmly etched nor so designed and related as to give one a clear vision of the democratic civilization as it is, or might become.

Johns Hopkins University THOMAS I. COOK

VÖLKERRECHT: EINE GESCHICHTE SEINER IDEEN IN LEHRE UND PRAXIS. Volume I, VON DER ANTIKE BIS ZUR AUFKLÄRUNG; Volume II, DIE LETZTEN ZWEIHUNDERT JAHRE. By *Ernst Reibstein.* [Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen, Volumes I/5 and I/10.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1958; 1963. Pp. 640; ix, 784. DM 49.50; DM 68.)

FEW scholars would have dared to attempt the enormous undertaking that the German law historian Ernst Reibstein has now completed. In two huge volumes he has presented the history of those ideas that have molded international law since the later days of antiquity. He has woven into this comprehensive survey the record of political practice based on these theories. Reibstein starts from some highly controversial observations of Heinrich von Treitschke about the law of nations in order to demonstrate the problematical nature of the whole sub-

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ject. He then turns to the teachings of Plato and his intellectual heirs and from them to St. Augustine. Step by step, he moves to the universal monarchy of the Middle Ages. He then gives proper emphasis to the classics of international law like Grotius and Suarez. Reibstein knows this period especially well since he devoted significant monographs to Johannes Althusius and Fernandus Vasquius. The final part of the first volume concerns itself with the Enlightenment and examines the literature from Pufendorf to Rousseau and Vattel. With Kant's "Perpetual Peace," the second volume reaches its first high light. Reibstein certainly aims at currency, for he brings the story to the Congo conflict and the Cuban crisis, using them as examples for an analysis of the fundamental problem of intervention. The whole second volume is organized around major problems rather than the historical sequence of ideas.

Reibstein's work is part of the series "Orbis Academicus" which presents problem histories in many fields. His volumes inaugurate the section devoted to public and private law. He impresses his readers by his universal outlook and the vastness of his learning; he also puts them in his debt by making available many documents that are not easily accessible elsewhere. His bibliographic apparatus in both volumes is helpful, even though some of the titles mentioned are of limited value. There remains one serious problem of organization. At least one reader would have enjoyed Reibstein's stimulating presentation much more had the history of ideas and problems been clearly separated from the documents included in full or in part; the latter would be more useful in a supplement. Except for this one major criticism, the author deserves the gratitude of historians and political scientists alike. He has nobly contributed to that "neue Berührung von Historie und Philosophie" that Ernst Troeltsch considered so essential for our age.

Trenton State College FELIX E. HIRSCH

THE LAYMAN IN CHRISTIAN HISTORY: A PROJECT OF THE DEPARTMENT ON THE LAITY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Edited by *Stephen Charles Neill* and *Hans-Ruedi Weber*. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1963. Pp. 408. $7.50.)

ALTHOUGH the work of the churches to a large extent depends on the loyalty and devotion of its lay members, church history largely ignores them. It was to make amends for this obvious omission that the present work was undertaken.

It consists of sixteen chapters written by a team of scholars, including the editors. The majority of the writers are English and belong to the Anglican communion. About three-quarters of the book is devoted to Western Europe. The entire Orthodox world is given only one chapter, as is the case with the modern Roman Catholic, the younger churches, and the Latin American. For a book devoted expressly to ecumenical Christendom, this constitutes a serious imbalance.

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Considering the paucity of source materials and, consequently, the difficulty of the task, the writers on the whole have acquitted themselves very well. The first chapter characterizes the ancient Church as predominantly lay. By virtue of baptism the people of God became "the royal priesthood," qualifying them to dispense the sacraments and receiving all other "gifts of the Spirit." Nevertheless, the differentiation between the cleric and the lay member soon developed. By the time of Emperor Constantine it was firmly established. Henceforth, the hierarchical order raised itself above even the ordinary priesthood and became the ruling body within the Church. The laity were deprived of their former powers. From 600 to 1000 the missionary task absorbed the energies of the clergy and the monks, while the lay membership, steeped in ignorance and superstition, played but a passive role. The secular rulers were an exception, for the care of the churches and the defense and spread of the faith formed a definite part of their duties: Charlemagne and Alfred serve as examples. The later Middle Ages were dominated by the high Scholasticism of the theologians and the soaring pretensions of the papacy. Even such an outstanding layman as Dante is barely mentioned by the writer of this chapter, while Chaucer's name does not appear at all. The laity as a whole were but sheep to be pastured by the clerical "shepherds." The Reformation made a change in this rigid ecclesiastical regime since the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers was in a way a return to the pattern of the ancient Church. The most notable among the lay dominated groups were the Anabaptists, the Congregationalists, and the Quakers. But in more recent times the tendency to clergy domination appeared again.

The book makes a distinct contribution to the study of Christian history, but Bishop Neill's hope that many laymen, for whom it is too technical, would read the book is likely to prove sanguine.

Claremont, California MATTHEW SPINKA

GENEZIS KAPITALIZMA V PROMYSHLENNOSTI: SBORNIK STATEI PODGOTOVLENNYI NAUCHNYM SOVETOM PO PROBLEME "GENEZIS KAPITALIZMA" [The Origin of Capitalism in Industry: A Collection of Articles Prepared by the Council on the Problem of the "Origin of Capitalism"]. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences. 1963. Pp. 428.)

IN his preface to the present collection of papers the chairman of the editorial board, S. D. Skazkin, describes the creation in 1956 by the Soviet Academy of Sciences of a number of "problem-bound" Scientific Councils, including the one for the problem of the origins of capitalism, which is responsible for this volume. From the preface as well as from a postscript reviewing the work of the various conferences organized by the council it appears that the new venture has benefited to a degree from the general atmosphere of the "thaw." This may be best seen from a condemning reference to "dogmatism and quotatism" (if I may thus

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render the curious Russian neologism *tsitatnichestvo*), where these strictures apply to nothing less than a Soviet historian's use in support of his position of a hackneyed quotation from Lenin. As a result of this relaxation the papers are rather factual. The usual preconceived and preimposed generalizations are relatively few, even though "original accumulation of capital" is ritually mentioned, without further elaborations, by most of the authors; on the other hand, there is as yet no conspicuous willingness to draw from the material any unorthodox conclusions.

The papers range over a wide area: Holland and Saxony, Latvia and Estonia, Croatia and Slavonia, Poland and Bulgaria, China and Japan, and the Ural region in Russia. Some of the essays present hardly more than bits of disjointed factual information. The paper by A. N. Chistozvonov, however, is a useful attempt to acquaint Soviet economic historians with N. W. Posthumus' highly important work on wool processing in Leiden in the fourteenth to sixteenth century, even though it contains nothing new to a Western reader. The essay by M. M. Smirnov on the social conflicts in the mining and smelting of metals in Saxony in the fifteenth to sixteenth century would have gained greatly if the author had referred to the rapid technological change of the period and the resulting large investment needs which were the basic source of the social frictions with which he is concerned. But N. Todorov's description of the textile factory that the Turkish government established in Bulgaria in 1836 is quite interesting, much less for its role in "originating Bulgarian capitalism" than as an additional indication of the importance of the Turkish market for the Bulgarian economy in the preliberation period.

Among the papers dealing with the Russian economy V. K. Yatsunskii's attempt to estimate the fixed and working capital as well as the profits in the private ironmaking industry in the Urals in the middle of the nineteenth century must be mentioned. The computations are crude, but it may be hoped that the original effort will be followed by further improvements and refinements. The paper should be read in conjunction with the brief essay by B. B. Kafengauz, which clearly demonstrates the stagnation prevailing in a most important Ural enterprise in the first half of the nineteenth century. It casts some doubt on the validity of some of Yatsunskii's capital estimates inasmuch as it seems that entrepreneurs were in the process of withdrawing capital from ironmaking, possibly through neglect of orderly replacement, and channeling it into a variety of other ventures. That may be the explanation for the ability of a stagnant industry to maintain a fair rate of profitability.

By far the most interesting contribution is E. Edlitskii's description of the abortive attempt at industrial development in Congress Poland, undertaken by the Russian bureaucracy in conjunction with the Polish Bank. The latter institution for a short time (1833–1842) became the main agent in engineering a spurt of industrial growth that centered upon, but was not confined to, the iron industry of the area. The manifold limitations of Russian policies and the

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entrepreneurial recklessness of the bank combined in making the episode an instructive case of a false start in conditions of economic backwardness.

Harvard University ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

REASON AND AUTHORITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Gerald R. Cragg.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 349. $7.50.)

GERALD R. Cragg's *Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century* is a study of English thought in that century "in relative isolation from continental influences."

To write a history of all the intellectual movements of the century was not his aim. Instead, he views the thought of the period from the standpoint of the dominant preoccupations of the age: reason and authority. On this basis, he lays down a carefully followed plan of organization. The satisfactory character of the study, however, is due to much more than masterly organization. He writes, as he says of one of the thinkers of the century, with "felicitous ease." Having to peg his discussion on a succession of outstanding figures, he has met the difficult problem of giving the entire thought of each of the men without breaking the continuity of his development and making the work a chain of biographies.

Starting with the heritage of the century from Locke and Newton, he traces the reaction to the new philosophy and the new science. A basis for the authority of reason was sought in the confirming support of revelation, principally by the latitudinarians. The deists, on the other hand, anxious to avoid anything that smacked of superstition, sought authority in reason, unhampered by revelation. On neither side was there a rejection of reason nor a repudiation of the teachings of Locke, as they received them. To get away from the collateral issues that obscured the real controversy and to examine judiciously the basic assumptions was the task of Law, Berkeley, and Butler. The importance of reason itself was reduced by Hume: experience was our source of knowledge. In the course of the *Decline and Fall,* Gibbon undertook his "candid but rational" examination of Christianity and by his manner made his history appear to many as a major onslaught of skepticism on the Christian faith. His contemporary, John Wesley, denying in no way the valid role of reason, reacted against the extreme rationalism of his age. He accepted the authority of experience, but only as checked by Scripture, the repository of revelation, and reason.

The eighteenth century inherited the problem of church and state from the vexed days of the preceding century. Liberty was the end sought, and common sense and forbearance suggested a solution for the time being. In the spirit of the Newtonian method, science played its part in the examination of traditional views. Hartley, bringing psychology and physiology together, studied both the rational faculties and the emotions. Godwin developed a new understanding of nature and of man to challenge superstition and ancient error. Priestley used

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the methods of the new science to refashion theology. Much of the energy used in the church and state debate in the early part of the century was diverted to various demands for church reform in the latter part. Particularly was there the issue of subscription, and the desire to be freed of creeds and formulas. While this demand for reform generated much public support, it served also to make vocal great traditionalists like Burke.

Cragg describes the eighteenth century as one of outward calm and stability but undergoing at the same time continuous change. The place of reason was a major subject of debate. While the participants were vocal, vigorous, and direct, their weakness was a tendency to be concerned too fully with externals. They were satisfied with a job that was logically neat. They did not, therefore, have great social concerns though they did lay the basis for such considerations in the next century. There was a reaction with revolution, romanticism, and utilitarianism, but progress was still reasonable, even inevitable.

The author has produced a most satisfactory interpretation of English thought in the eighteenth century, marked by intimate knowledge of the literature of the period, sound judgment, skillful organization, and literary skill.

George Washington University ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

ISTORIIA DIPLOMATII [History of Diplomacy]. Edited by *A. A. Gromyko et al.* Volume II, DIPLOMATIIA V NOVOE VREMIA, 1871–1914 [Diplomacy in the Modern Period, 1871–1914]. By *V. M. Khvostov*. (2d rev. ed.; Moscow: State Publishing House for Political Literature. 1963. Pp. 820.)

THE second of a projected five, this volume continues the revision of a major product of the Stalin era, published in three volumes in 1941–1945. The first (1959) revised the Soviet version of world diplomatic history from antiquity to 1871; the remaining three will do so for 1914–1941 and will cover World War II and postwar diplomacy. The work is among the best Soviet historical scholarship is capable of producing.

Khvostov, who also wrote most of the original second volume, is a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, director of its Institute of History, and vice-chairman of the commission (headed by Foreign Minister Gromyko) in charge of the series *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* [Documents of the Foreign Policy of the USSR]. One of the major Soviet historians who have weathered all storms, he represents a continuity of sorts. He emerged in the 1920's under the wing of Pokrovski, made his transition to Pokrovski's denouncers in the 1930's, wrote orthodox history that won him two Stalin Prizes in the 1940's, and climbed to the summit in the 1950's. A comparison of his 1945 and 1963 products reveals one of the techniques of survival: the quotation from Stalin with which he opened in 1945 is replaced by a quotation from Lenin, and the mentor of past years is subjected to strictures that are currently politic. The key to Khvostov's durability, however, seems to be his moderation and avoidance of contro-

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versy; the fact that he works in a subject and period—the Age of Imperialism—for which Lenin provided the conceptual scaffolding in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* has also helped. Under the umbrella of Lenin's authority, the job of constructing concrete history from his scaffolding has been rather technical, and quite safe. As Khvostov does it, it is by no means negligible.

With assurance and command of the literature, he ranges over the entire globe and gives a moderate Marxist-Leninist account of the clashes, crises, and conflicts that fill the pages of the standard works. While quite conventional in his attention to diplomatic conferences and personalities, he seeks out the economic and class struggle origins of diplomacy and thus throws the Marxist shaft of light on one facet of the question of domestic sources of conduct in foreign affairs that all diplomatic history faces. Beyond that, however, Khvostov is inadequate in setting his subject in the dynamics of the population explosion, scientific and technological progress, and impact of social thought in the period. The excessive Europocentrism and Russocentrism of the original have been remedied by expansion in relation to the United States, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Far East; this and the growth of the chapters on Europe have brought the revision to three times the size of the original.

Moving through these eight hundred packed pages, the reader misses the relief of illustrations and the help of maps and charts presenting geographic, demographic, economic, and military data that no diplomatic history should neglect; the convenience of a thoroughgoing index (only an index to persons is provided) is also missed. The absence of treatment of Pan-Americanism may be attributable to the author's area of competence rather than to deliberate omission. The narrative is concrete and rich in detail and extracts from sources; its pace is brisk and the style readable. The range of the literature consulted is evident in the footnotes, but the bibliography is left for the next volume, and Khvostov again refrains from any polemics with divergent interpretations and viewpoints. This revised codification of Soviet interpretations of diplomatic history will claim its place among the general texts, especially if it appears, as did the original, in a Western language.

San Fernando Valley State College MARIN PUNDEFF

ILLUSION AND NECESSITY: THE DIPLOMACY OF GLOBAL WAR, 1939–1945. By *John L. Snell.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1963. Pp. ix, 229. $1.95.)

JOHN Snell gives us an exceptionally concise and readable survey of the diplomatic history of the Second World War. He takes up all the essential diplomatic events and sketches the diplomatic aims and styles of the major actors. Furthermore, for each event or phase the author provides useful and up-to-date bibliographic guidance as well as first-rate maps.

Evidently Snell intends this slim volume as more than just an outline. He

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offers an interpretation in which he claims to place himself "above ideological partisanship," though he confesses his values to be those "of a democratic society." Accordingly, he holds that the foreign policies of Soviet Russia as well as the Allies were a mixture of realism and illusion; that "most of what Stalin wanted in World War II had been held by the last Tsar"; and that the Allies postponed discussing frontiers with Stalin in the mistaken calculation that time and space were in their favor. He quite rightly insists that how "we interpret all of diplomatic history since 1939 hinges on our understanding of the responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War."

When Snell looks at the causes of the war, however, he seems to abandon his nonpartisan stance. Twice he charges that "Stalin's responsibility for the outbreak of World War II was second only to that of Hitler himself"; for good measure he adds that Soviet appeasement of Japan in 1941 gave Tokyo "the green light to move southward against the Western possessions." These ideologically tinged interpretations are due neither to a willful nor an unintended misreading of documents. They stem from an excessively narrow conception of diplomatic history. Snell gives no hint that the war was superimposed on a global civil war that started in 1917. He admits that Russia was the center and carrier of revolution, but he fails to show that not only Nazi Germany but nearly all the Central and Eastern European governments were outposts of counterrevolution and that through Munich even the Western Allies preferred the one to the other. Undoubtedly Stalin used Hitler "for his own advantage," but so did others. And by the time Stalin was "ready to use the West for his own advantage" the West was equally eager to use him. The grand alliance was not a love feast but a marriage of convenience from which, incidentally, both sides derived roughly equal benefits. Whereas Snell leaves the impression that as of 1943 the Soviets and the Allies threatened each other with equal credibility with a separate peace with Germany, in actual fact Stalin had greater cause for uneasiness. Anyway, between 1943 and 1945 Stalin seems to have been less concerned with acquiring control of the Eastern European rimland, including the Balkans, in order to spread Bolshevism to Central and Western Europe than with denying the counterrevolution this staging ground for another assault on the Soviet bastion, comparable to the one after the First World War.

Even though for a brief spell the civil war was almost completely subordinated to the military struggle, starting in 1943 the two were as intimately intertwined as from 1917 to 1921 and from 1933 to 1939. Not that Snell is altogether unaware of this oneness of war, revolution, and counterrevolution. However, in his conventional diplomatic history monolithic states rather than sociopolitically based governments make foreign policy; the primacy of foreign policy is taken for granted; ideology counts little as an instrument of control; and, unlike revolutionary Russia, the counterrevolutionary powers seem incapable of offensive action.

Princeton University ARNO J. MAYER

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Ancient and Medieval

SIGNS & WONDERS UPON PHARAOH: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN EGYPTOLOGY. By *John A. Wilson.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xxv, 243. $5.95.)

THIS highly personal book, intended and certain to be popular, is clear enough for the general reader, factual enough for the expert, and written with an enthusiasm for Egypt and a vividness of narrative that will make it hard for anyone to lay it down before it is done. In particular, anyone who has been in Egypt as tourist or as professional, especially anyone who knew Egypt before the Second World War, will find it a joy. There are frequent glimpses of the picturesque, such as the following: "Shepheard's Hotel was the focal point, a rambling building with a vivid décor in pseudo-pharaonic style, founded in the 1840's. From Shepheard's famous terrace, over a coffee or a lemon squash, one could sit idly and watch the teeming throng sweep past: Egyptians in from the villages returning one's stare openly, barefooted Nubians of great dignity, two-wheeled donkey carts, and then shouts and a rumble as an open landau carrying some fat Turkish dignitary in a red tarbush careened past, preceded by running saises, who cleared the way with sticks. . . . It was an easy and fascinating way to see the East." And it may be added, so is this book. But in addition there are numerous photographs showing not only Shepheard's but Egyptians and Egyptologists, the land and its antiquities as they were in the period 1798–1936.

This is really two books in one, for it also has a scientific side. There are a bibliography of sixteen pages and a biographical list of twenty-one pages. The narrative is divided into sections determined by political or Egyptological events, and we review in succession Napoleon and Champollion; Mohammed Ali and Belzoni and Wilkinson; Ismail and Mariette; Cromer, Maspero, Petrie, Erman, and Sayce; and the Americans Wilbour, Breasted, Reisner, and Winlock. Notable finds are described in dramatic detail—Nefertiti, Tutankhamen, Sen-Mut —as are smuggling achievements, real or suspected.

There are brief glimpses of archaeological advances in other Near Eastern countries, and the curious story of the Civil War veterans who entered Egyptian service is told. The book is primarily concerned with Americans in Egypt: Jefferson's ill-fated John Ledyard in 1788 was the first. Nevertheless, scholars of other nationalities receive their due, and political and other events in Egypt are treated sympathetically. With all the whimsey, the narrative is graciously sympathetic and overlaid by an inevitable nostalgia. We think of what there was, and of what might have been: how much more should we know of ancient Egypt if there had not been so much spoilage.

Yale University C. BRADFORD WELLES

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STUDIES IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY. By *E. Badian.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1964. Pp. viii, 290. $7.50.)

THIS extremely useful volume collects many of Badian's important articles, some widely scattered in many different periodicals, in one convenient place. But its uses go beyond this. Specialists in Roman and Hellenistic history will have seen all of this collection, for any new article by Badian is an important event in these fields, but those whose interest is more casual or simply pedagogical can find here not only fresh material but also the basic stuff out of which we build our knowledge of the ancient world. Badian is an original mind, certainly one of the most brilliant ancient historians of this day, and, using methods pioneered by Fraccaro and his school at Padua and by Sir Ronald Syme at Oxford, he has done work on Marius and Sulla and their times and on Alexander the Great that has fundamentally changed our whole approach to and understanding of these periods.

The book contains eleven essays and four long reviews ranging in date from 1952 to 1963, and a useful index is supplied. Five of the articles taken together are the best available history of the Roman Republic from 133 to 78 B.C., and, although synthesis is still impossible, here the main outlines are made clear as are the methods and the areas in which further work must be done. This is difficult material to handle, involving much prosopographical data, but Badian does very well and has improved his techniques over the years. The article on the trials of Caepio and Norbanus is brilliant and well done but difficult reading. On the other hand the article "Waiting for Sulla," published five years later, sweeps the reader along and catches him up in the material although it is no less studded with names and no less complex in nature than the earlier piece. Indeed in many ways this is the star attraction of the book.

Badian's excellent work on Alexander the Great is less well represented with only one article and two of the long reviews. One wishes that the author had chosen to include his article on Harpalus from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (LXXXI [1961], 16–43) in place of his "popular" article, "Ancient Alexandria," which betrays a lack of sympathy for Hellenistic court life and is unnecessarily hard on those who lived and worked in the Ptolemaic capital.

All will find the volume useful: scholars to have Badian's articles gathered so conveniently and others to see the approaches necessary and results obtainable in the difficult study of the ancient world.

Yale University JOHN F. OATES

THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE, 284–602: A SOCIAL ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE SURVEY. In two volumes. By *A. H. M. Jones.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 766; vi, 767–1518. $24.95.)

THE author first sketches the political history from the Antonines to the successors of Justinian. Then he surveys the government and its operations, the army,

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the senatorial order, the cities, economic life, religion and morals, and education and culture between roughly A.D. 300 and 600. The last chapter discusses the decline of the Empire. Notes and three appendixes extend over four hundred pages; good indexes and seven maps enhance the usefulness of the book. The author has read and reread practically all Greek and Latin sources, a list of which takes twelve pages. Even an informed reader will discover numerous bits of surprising information in Jones's collectanea, for instance, the Jewish discussion whether Mohammed was the messiah or the comparison of the wealth of the senators of Rome and of Constantinople. It is easy to predict that for many years scholars will freely borrow (often without thanks and acknowledgment) from this rich store of information so diligently collected by the author.

Indispensable as the work is for a specialist, its self-imposed limitations make it less useful for a nonspecialist. Jones is mainly concerned with organization and institutions; he neglects the mentality of men who built bathhouses and ran the administrative machine. Can we understand the functioning of the Empire without knowing that not only fairness in justice but also "mildness" and "integrity" were praised in a governor (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica,* III [1948], 108)? Secondly, the author admits that he neglects the archaeological sources. Rostovtzeff seems to have labored in vain teaching the use of archaeological evidence for historical reconstruction. But we cannot speak of Roman estates, for instance, without the help of archaeology (see, for example, Edith Thomas, *Römische Villen in Pannonien* [1964]). Jones's chapters on economic conditions are outdated; the general reader should refer to A. Bernardi, "Tendenze in fondo nell'economia del tardo impero romano" (*Studi Ghisleriani,* III [1961]). Thirdly, the work largely deals with uniform and uniting organizations, such as the army, that is, with the superstructure. Since the time of Mommsen and Rostovtzeff we know that a survey of the Roman Empire must be based on the provinces. Such works as Lellia Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'Italia annonaria* (1961), and G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord* (1953–58), open new vistas. Jones's work rather condenses the available literary information. He placidly juxtaposes facts and texts, but he does not ask, for instance, how, in the "fall of the Roman Empire," the gold standard was never adulterated "until the middle ages." He speaks of the Church's disapproval of baths and states that the Church's censure was generally ignored. It is not so simple. John Chrysostom (whom the author does not quote) condemns the landowners who built bathhouses instead of churches on their Syrian estates (cf. archaeological evidence in Tchalenko). In a deteriorating economy a pious man had often to choose between building a church or a bathhouse. When Narses reconquered Rome in 552, he did not repair the thermae, but built an extra monastery. As Jerome so well said: "clean skin indicates dirty soul."

Columbia University E. J. Bickerman

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WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR: THE NORMAN IMPACT UPON ENGLAND. By *David C. Douglas.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 476. $9.50.)

THE University of California Press is to be warmly congratulated on its projected series of biographies of English monarchs, and on the quality of the first volume to appear. This is obviously based on long and detailed research, but though clearly intended primarily for the expert (six appendixes are included, which are hard to justify on other grounds), it is written with such clarity and distinction that it will certainly also have a general appeal.

It should be stated at the outset that the volume makes an important contribution to our understanding of the whole problem of the Norman Conquest. Professor Douglas, as is claimed, keeps close to the original evidence throughout. He avoids the polemics of the past (and even of contemporaries) and makes a new approach, based on a fresh attempt to appraise and explain the political and ecclesiastical character of the Normandy that conquered England in 1066.

In this fresh attempt, he is eminently successful and gives us a new point of departure for the study of pre-Conquest Normandy. Perhaps he is not quite as successful in his analysis of the impact of Normandy on England. The Conquest, he believes, was perhaps the most revolutionary event between the Conversion and the Reformation. It gave England a new monarchy, a feudal polity of a special type, a reconstituted church, and a changed concentration on a new set of political and institutional ideas. All this is argued and illustrated by a wealth of material, most expertly analyzed. It is almost but, to one reader at least, not quite, convincing. It has still to be weighed in the balance against the very different conclusions of H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (see *AHR,* LXIX [Jan. 1964], 427). Here, we may hope, is the beginning of long, fruitful, and (possibly) harmonious debate. Nor, in approaching the problem need we be entirely disarmed by Douglas' claim to objectivity and freedom from anachronistic sentiment. (Why do historians of this period feel a special compulsion to record such pious aspirations?) It may well be that a great source of strength as well as a minor source of weakness in this fine volume is the enthusiasm for William the Conqueror and all his works, which hardly makes for complete objectivity.

It is perhaps in line with such an enthusiasm that Douglas fails to give to pre-Conquest England the same sympathetic and imaginative analysis that he gives to Normandy. Nor does he manage with complete success to hold the balance between the two aspects of William's seizure of the English throne that were to dominate all subsequent events: the political and diplomatic factor of a disputed succession and the military factor of a trial by battle. Both may be regarded as determinative, and perhaps historians will never agree entirely as to which was more important. Douglas does not pronounce judgment, but he seems to regard the act of violence as transcendental and to look on post-Conquest England as essentially a conquered land. Thus, he can conclude that few states-

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men in history have shown a higher concern than William for the traditions of countries won by the sword, and praise him for making the Norman aristocracy hold their land, not in absolute ownership as spoils of conquest, but in return for the service of knights.

William's succession to Edward's throne, as his true heir designated by God, bound by the same kingly office and crowned according to substantially the same *ordo,* is indeed fully recognized as we should expect, but it is hardly worked out in its consequences with the thoroughness accorded to the policy and innovations of the Conqueror. The result is a brilliant analysis of the post-Conquest settlement, but it is perhaps not the last word on the question of continuity versus discontinuity. In spite of this, Douglas has written an outstanding volume, placing him securely among the company of the great historians of the Conquest. By both its content and its style, his work helps to keep alive the traditions of his predecessors Freeman and—dare it be said?—Stubbs. He has quite transcended the limitations of biography and given us a revaluation of the impact of both William and Normandy upon England that will engage the attention of historians to the Conquest for many years to come.

University of Toronto B. Wilkinson

ENGLISH JUSTICE BETWEEN THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND THE GREAT CHARTER, 1066–1215. By *Doris M. Stenton.* [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume LX; Jayne Lectures for 1963.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1964. Pp. ix, 238. $2.50.)

Three of the chapters here published originated as the Jayne Lectures of the American Philosophical Society for 1963, the fourth as the Raleigh Lecture delivered before the British Academy in 1958. More than half of the book consists of a useful and extensive "Appendix of Illustrative Material."

Lady Stenton's career as scholar and editor makes this book welcome indeed. She presents a concise and reliable interpretation and synthesis based on her mastery of charters, writs, and rolls. With remarkable clarity, and with a surprising amount of detail, she tells us much of the history of the "creation of a bench of judges and a legal profession" in the twelfth century. The origins, however, are to be found in Anglo-Saxon and Norman England. Royal writs and elements of the jury began to appear well before the Conquest, and in the reign of Henry I, Ranulf Flambard and Roger of Salisbury were initiating the system of a centralized justice associated with the justiciar and the Exchequer, and with the control of the local administration of justice by means of sending Exchequer officials to sit as judges in shire courts.

The great "leap forward" came in the early reign of Henry II (1154–1166). The system of returnable writs, the organization of a bench of justices, the development of rules of procedure made necessary by new writs, the increasing use of *inquisitio* by jury, and the rise of a legal profession made royal justice the real foundation of the realm as a state. (The word "state" is mine.) Bracton, the

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author says, correctly attributed the initiative to Henry, recalling the tradition that Henry spent sleepless nights in the work of devising writs and creating a centralized administration. (But was Bracton really reflecting a tradition about Henry II, or was he attributing to Henry what Justinian had said about his own work in governing the Empire?) Glanville's *De legibus* was chiefly based on the achievements of Henry's government. King John himself, despite his many difficulties, carried on the work of seeing that justice was done; he was not the despot of tradition.

Finally, this work seems to correct the impression given by Joliffe, that Henry II usually acted arbitrarily, indulging in *ira et voluntas*. On the whole, the author makes one fairly certain that Henry II and his advisers had some idea of putting into practice what John of Salisbury said was the duty and right of a king: the work of political art in governing the state.

Princeton University GAINES POST

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LEGAL THOUGHT: PUBLIC LAW AND THE STATE, 1100–1322. By *Gaines Post*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 633. $15.00.)

THE theme of this monumental treatise is the derivation of European public law from the revived Roman law. Its significance is that these Neo-Roman ideas add a dimension and a fullness of understanding to medieval legal and constitutional history. By 1300 legists, decretists, and glossators had created from Roman and Christian definitions of society, community, people, realm, and country (*patria*) a concept of "the State." Post's method of analysis and presentation is comprehensive, rather than comparative, and he describes the meanings that different nations—France and Italy, England and Spain—gave to a single idea. No longer may historians of national laws, notably England's, ignore the "Roman influence" for Post has demonstrated convincingly that "this Roman constitutionalism, containing the idea of a State and a public law, reinforced medieval constitutionalism."

The revival of Roman law gave a new currency among Europe's legal thinkers to the concepts of corporation, representation, and *plena potestas*, and to the principle of consent, *Quod omnes tangit*. Post traces the use of these ideas, analyzes their augmentation, and identifies them in the Roman public law where medieval jurists had found a conception of the state, *respublica*. He explains how those learned in the two laws combined the notions of *status regis, status regni*, and *ratio status* into the state and blessed it with patriotism, nationalism, and naturalism. Canonists and legists before 1200 had set forth a doctrine of naturalism, based on natural law and nature itself, *id est, Deus*. With this they sanctioned the state. By 1300 jurists recognized Europe as a concert of royal-national kingdoms, "independent and sovereign communities" Post proves them to have been, and once again men began to call the state "divine." To devise a

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"theory of state" and to justify the superiority of public law over private right, jurists and philosophers resorted to the Roman ideas of common necessity, common utility, public welfare, and the safety or defense of the realm. A doctrine of emergency sanctified these values, and emergencies with their necessities and rationalizations led men to convert public utility into public authority and then to identify it with the community of the realm and both with "the State." Moreover, "long before the Italian Renaissance," Post contends, "the concept, and some practice, of the 'State as a work of art' had become manifest during the great medieval renaissance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."

The evidence that Post has used to demonstrate these theses is impressive, his arguments are cogent and convincing, and his major conclusions seem valid. Some earlier assertions he has tempered, but scholars still may wish to debate a few of his contentions. Did all jurists consider the crown inseparable from the king, for example, and were *status regis* and *status corone* "essentially the same" and not distinguishable? Was the judicial character of national assemblies truly as preponderant as he and McIlwain assume? And was Edward I's Parliament ever named "the High Court Royal?" However, Post's vast learning, like his documentation, awes one as he proceeds on this sedate excursion through medieval legal thought. Yet the fascination of the revived Roman law seems to have tempted Post at times to minimize the part pragmatic politics played in determining medieval public law. He has proved that many men filled their minds with knowledge of "the two laws," but he has not always connected their thought, set down in books, with their actions in court or Parliament. Nowadays, so much seems Roman, so little Teutonic.

Yale University WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

LES HOMMES DE LOI LYONNAIS À LA FIN DU MOYEN ÂGE: ÉTUDE SUR LES ORIGINES DE LA CLASSE DE ROBE. By *René Fédou*. [Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Third Series, Lettres, Number 37.] (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." 1964. Pp. xxiv, 526.)

THE new middle class emerging in France at the close of the Middle Ages began to perform duties and hold positions that formerly pertained to the nobility and clergy. This rising bourgeoisie included lawyers, merchants, and financiers, all essential to the social structure of the new national state. The work reviewed here is concerned specifically with the increasing influence of the legal profession, lawyers and jurists, who constitute a special social group, *la classe de robe*. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were among the most dynamic elements in the *corps social*. During the last twenty years, however, economic historians have not succeeded in establishing the position of the lawyer in proper perspective, as they have done for the merchant class.

Accordingly Fédou proposes a different method of research in which he selects a particular city, in this case Lyons, for which there is a considerable range

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of documentary source material that may be examined through an approach more prosopographic and genealogical than economic. Extensive records pertaining to families and dynasties that have played distinguished roles in law and justice are analyzed in detail to explain the rise and influence of this class. Since similar social forces were almost certainly operative widely in the realm, the close study of a single city serves to illustrate the general nature of the social movement and its underlying forces.

The medieval city constituted a proving ground favorable to the emergence of the class of the robe, forming a fourth estate. Thus Fédou concludes that although the fourth estate thrust its roots deeply among needy rural notaries rather than into the merchant plutocracy, it is the city that gathers these elements into itself and unites them, so that they recognize their power and, as a result, aspire to a role in the state. The management of municipal affairs had trained them in the methods of administration. City politics accustomed them to the intrigues of the palace and rendered them competent to understand larger affairs of state. Differences among their fellow townsmen gave them many opportunities to clarify and test their political ideas. Consequently the monarch sought the aid and advice of the nobility less and less and had increasing recourse to the lawyers. Both the court of the sovereign and personal service to the king gave them occasion to draw on their earlier experience.

The scholarly apparatus of the book is adequate, containing lists of sources, manuscript and printed, and an extensive bibliography arranged topically. There are also an appendix, including a considerable range of documents relevant to the text, and an index of persons and of places.

Rice University FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

Modern Europe

LA MÉDITERRANÉE ET LES PUISSANCES: DEPUIS L'OUVERTURE JUSQU'À LA NATIONALISATION DU CANAL DE SUEZ. By *Félix Ponteil.* [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1964. Pp. 232. 15 fr.)

THE period of the operation of the Suez Canal Company furnishes convenient landmarks for a study of developments in the Mediterranean area, but the latter as a whole, rather than the canal alone, is the subject of this book, the focus of which is, as the title indicates, on the role and the relationships of the powers.

The book is divided into three parts separated by two episodes that induced major changes in these relations: the turn of the century and the launching of Italy's imperial offensive in 1935. One follows through the story the evolution of long-standing interests, the Russian at the Straits and the British in safeguarding the life line of empire, as well as the impact upon these of the interests of newcomers, mainly the German from the 1890's, focused on Asia

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Minor, and the Italian which on two occasions thought to have found the keys to the Mediterranean in the Red Sea.

The interplay of these forces makes for a complex tale that such factors as the interaction of domestic Austrian problems and Balkan politics do not make any simpler. To the unfolding of the story the author makes no new contribution; his work is a summation and synthesis that presents in orderly fashion and from a particular angle a record, much of which is found in scattered form. For that reason it will be useful to the student and as a reference although it is devoid of the scholarly apparatus of footnotes and references; a bibliography, however, is included.

The treatment is both sound and fair, marked by a dispassionate approach. The operation of power is the sharp focus from which there is no deviation, a merit yet a limitation, for the role of other elements tends at times to be minimized. This is well illustrated in the Italian case, for example, where the operation of a generally skillful diplomacy was circumscribed by the inherent limitations of Italian power and the achievements were eventually lost through a fatal misreading of the facts of power.

The brevity of the book may also be regarded as a shortcoming for it is not a broad, interpretive essay but a detailed survey of factual developments; consequently the treatment is too condensed, even though it involves a perhaps inevitable amount of repetition. One would welcome at times a little more flesh on the bare skeleton of the intricate diplomatic record. Also, somewhat more careful proofreading would have been beneficial.

Barnard College René Albrecht-Carrié

THE TRANSFER OF THE SUDETEN GERMANS: A STUDY OF CZECH-GERMAN RELATIONS, 1933–1962. By *Radomír Luža*. ([New York:] New York University Press. 1964. Pp. xxiv, 365. $7.50.)

This title is misleading. Perhaps one hundred pages are devoted to the mass deportation of the German minority from Czechoslovakia after the Second World War, in 1945–1946. The rest is background, a chronological survey of the troubled relations between Czechs and Germans in the area since the late nineteenth century. There is nothing basically new in this lengthy prologue, either in fact or conclusion. What the author gives, rather, is a detailed, up-to-date synthesis of the many secondary writings on the subject, especially the less accessible Czechoslovak and Sudeten German ones, together with selections from contemporary newspapers and the standard documentary collections, published and unpublished. He has also drawn upon a number of personal interviews and some correspondence with various Czech and German personalities involved. Not everything in this summary is relevant. For example, the lengthy treatment of the Czechoslovak resistance was apparently included chiefly because of the author's own firsthand knowledge of it. The footnotes have been needlessly

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multiplied yet they fail to give complete bibliographical data in first citations of sources. The transfer itself is described succinctly and statistically. The entire book is apparently a reworking of the author's previous study of the subject, written in Czech and published in Vienna in 1953.

This is, nevertheless, a useful account, especially in English. The purpose of the long introduction is to prove that the German transfer was the painful but unavoidable solution to agelong, irreconcilable enmity. Luža presents his case with moderation. He does not hesitate to accuse the Prague government of ineptitude in dealing with legitimate Sudeten grievances in the interwar period and of lack of courage in facing Hitler's threat. He does not deny the harsh treatment sometimes meted out locally to the German population in the period between the war's end and the organized transfer, nor the senseless severity of the expropriation terms. Still, as he carefully describes the deliberate conspiracy of the Henleinists to dismember the First Republic and deliver it to their Nazi mentors, the diabolical Nazi plan to exterminate the Czech nation, and the brutality of the Protectorate to the final moments of its existence—crimes with which the overwhelming majority of the Germans in Czechoslovakia willingly identified themselves—few rational readers will be able to resist his conclusion that the Sudeten "Achilles' Heel" had to be removed.

It is more difficult, however, to share Luža's belief that this was "the last act of the long German-Czech dispute" or to agree with the statement of A. William Salomone, expressed in the foreword, that "it closes a chapter on days of wrath and opens another on future days of fruitful concord between two peoples." The well-organized, implacable revanchist activities of the Sudeten Germans in exile certainly make such optimism unwarranted and justify continuing Czechoslovak fears. These activities deserve a fuller account than Luža has given them, as do the serious implications of the transfer for the current and future foreign policy of Czechoslovakia.

Occidental College JOSEPH F. ZACEK

HITLER, FRANCO UND GIBRALTAR: DIE FRAGE DES SPANISCHEN EINTRITTS IN DEN ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG. By *Donald S. Detwiler.* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Number 27. Abteilung Universalgeschichte.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1962. Pp. xi, 185. DM 20.)

THE purpose of this short, well-documented study is "to examine the question whether and under what conditions Spain would have been ready to get into the Second World War on the side of Germany." It deals primarily with Hitler's attempts to persuade Franco to become a cobelligerent and to participate in the attack on Gibraltar. The six months (June–December 1940) described here in detail were crucial because this was the only time during the war when Hitler seriously considered Spain's participation on the side of the Axis. His plan was

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to capture Gibraltar, close the western gate of the Mediterranean to the Royal Navy (the Italians were then almost at the western border of Egypt and supposedly ready to take the Suez Canal), and secure North Africa for the Axis.

Hitler's attempt to carry out this plan was one of his last diplomatic actions. It failed. Professor Detwiler carefully explains the reasons for its failure. He points out Hitler's dilemma in having to choose between France and Spain for military support against Britain and the British Empire, and he describes in detail the *Führer*'s unsuccessful negotiations with Franco, Pétain, and Mussolini in October 1940 to settle, among other things, their conflicting colonial aspirations in Africa.

The Spanish archives being closed for research, Detwiler has based his study primarily on published and unpublished German diplomatic and military documents, on memoirs, and on interviews with some of the more important German officials familiar with the Spanish situation in 1940. His documentation is substantial, but his system of reference to the published German diplomatic documents is not quite satisfactory. He carefully provides footnotes to all minor published documents, but on the more important ones—Hitler's and Ribbentrop's conversations with and letters to Mussolini, Franco, Pétain, Ciano, Laval, and Serrano Suñer—he ignores the printed record and instead refers the reader to the microfilms. The impression thus created is that these key documents, some of which Detwiler prints in an appendix, have not been published up to now. Aside from this, however, the study is well balanced, worth while, and important for the understanding of World War II diplomacy.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

THE THREE WORLDS OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH. By *Philip L. Barbour.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1964. Pp. xix, 553. $7.50.)

CAPTAIN John Smith exerts a bad influence over his biographers, who have on the whole never freed themselves from the captain's autobiographical writings. His life divides into three unequal periods: the well-nigh incredible adventures in Eastern Europe, which have no direct interest to the historian of early America; three years, 1606–1609, when Smith was an all-important figure to the Jamestown settlement; and a third period from 1608 to his death in 1631 during which Smith published no less than ten books and two important maps. Despite its importance, this last period is still the one we know least about. Smith's autobiography, *The True Travels* . . . , appeared in 1630, but in his other books there is a wealth of personal narrative, the accuracy of which is controversial. Most modern biographers have never gone beyond these controversies.

Until now the most recent biography was written in 1954 by Bradford Smith with the help of L. P. Striker, who followed through the adventures in Turkey. That book is a serious, popular biography and is in large part an appeal against the sentence of an earlier generation of scholars who put Smith down as a liar and a braggart. Philip Barbour's volume is larger, more diligent, and in a more

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scholarly cast. Yet it does little more than elaborate and adjust the appeal made ten years ago.

As happened before, Barbour does not evaluate what significance Smith had for the colonizing effort so much as he tries to demonstrate that Smith's writings are credible. Step by step Barbour follows along the path of events described by Smith and at every turn stops to ask: could this really have happened? Despite painstaking research in manuscript and published sources, the author has not found new and direct evidence. He has nevertheless taken Smith at his word, and, he writes, "by filling in with surmise and hypothesis where necessary, I trust I have explained the facts." Indeed, I cannot remember reading another book so rich in conjecture and circumstantial evidence. In simple situations, like getting the hero from France to England, one may easily surmise a sea voyage. But to explain the "facts" about Smith's rescue by Pocahontas is a more difficult matter altogether. Too often Barbour's case seems to me unproved.

Meanwhile, many side lights, intended to lend verisimilitude to the narrative and often very interesting in themselves, tend to obscure the main development of a life that remains very much the same as it was told first by Smith himself.

University of Texas MICHAEL G. HALL

HIS MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION, 1714–1830. By *Archibald S. Foord*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 494. $8.00.)

THIS book is a stylish example of Whig history in the post-Namier age. Its theme is "the record of how loyal parliamentary opposition, able to flourish amid peaceful domestic conditions, came gradually to supersede and supplant the other types," and, incidentally, how the term "opposition," used previously of a temporary act, was increasingly applied first to more lasting and sometimes responsible activities, and then to the persons and groups who challenged the existing administration. The transference can be seen in process at the same time that the seating of ministerial supporters and their opponents on opposite sides of the house was formalized, as it was by about 1742. For these developments there had to be many changes in the theory and practice of government. As long as the idea prevailed that the constitution was held in equilibrium by the balance of its own components, or that the ideal administration was one of "broad bottom" or "patriot king," a loyal opposition could hardly appear as a normal balancing force to the ministry. Nor did the existence of formidable opposition necessarily indicate feasible alternative policies, or politicians prepared to carry them out, and the appearance and organization of political parties is a highly relevant part of the story. Thus the author finds it necessary to tread much well-worn ground. His procedure is determined partly by this fact. Well over half the book deals with the period before 1760, when "the last disloyal opposition"—that of the Jacobites in Parliament—faded away, when the long ministry of Walpole standardized opposition as well as government, and when serious experiments

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were tried with administration on a "broad bottom," culminating in the "great ministry" of 1757. In the main these pages carry the greatest weight. The detailed examination of opposition between 1714 and 1742 also illuminates the later period. There is more resemblance than is always realized between those who concentrated their fire on the "influence of the Crown" under Walpole and the more familiar contemporaries of Dunning in 1780. Pulteney was calling himself the "head of a party" in 1742, and Newcastle asked him to nominate "those other persons whom he would have put into power."

For the period after the accession of George III "the enormous volume of data and the mass of scholarship leave no doubt about the central facts of political history, and it is unnecessary to re-examine them in detail," and the book turns into a commentary rather than an analytical narrative. It carries its theme with gathering speed down to the landmark of 1830, when the King "accepted the interpretation of the Prerogative which Fox had vainly tried to establish in 1783–4." This commentary, somewhat inhibited by the work of other scholars, can pass lightly over such critical points as the mediation of Shelburne between Rockingham and the King in 1782, but it contains many valuable reflections, for example, on the revival of the Tory name and on the dissolution in 1784 as a real innovation, when the King exercised his time-honored power of choosing his minister, but broke the Septennial Convention. Suggestions like these remind the reader at times of the late Richard Pares; this is no mean compliment. In short, despite the disparity between the two halves of the book, the author shows convincingly how well the fashionable "structure" of politics can be analyzed along a moving line of narrative, when it is applied to a theme both limited and important.

University of California, Berkeley G. H. Guttridge

ENGLAND UND DAS FRIDERIZIANISCHE PREUSSEN, 1740–1763: EIN BEITRAG ZUM VERHÄLTNIS VON POLITIK UND ÖFFENTLICHER MEINUNG IN ENGLAND DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Manfred Schlenke*. [Orbis Academicus: Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Dokumenten und Darstellungen.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1963. Pp. 435. DM 44.)

While few important new conclusions emerge, this admirably thorough and well-balanced survey does provide solid groundwork for a number of generalities that have rested on too little evidence up to now, and it corrects some distortions of interpretation and emphasis. Though the title accurately describes the book's scope, its contribution goes well beyond the immediate topic and tells us much about the English Enlightenment.

This is notably true in Schlenke's treatment of the appeal to Protestant solidarity that was so frequently and so effectively made by Frederick's partisans, especially after he became an ally of the House of Hanover in 1756. Confirming

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recent work by Stromberg and Cobban, Schlenke demonstrates—contrary to the older view that religious considerations had little weight with eighteenth-century British opinion—that the prevailing attitude in mid-century was actually one of powerful concern with religion and, especially after the Jacobite rising of 1745, one of overwhelming attachment to the Protestant succession as a guarantee of national independence and stability. "Locke, Hume and Berkeley," he writes, "were exceptions; their writings were read and discussed by a comparatively small stratum of society. The great mass of the people did not read these representatives of the new century's *avant-garde;* for them the literature of religious edification, as well as that of political and ecclesiastical controversy, played, as in earlier times, a far more significant role. . . ." Schlenke concludes that the "confessional argument" had great and probably decisive importance in winning for Prussia a popularity never enjoyed by England's earlier ally, Austria.

The book also presents interesting evidence of how thoroughly Frederick and his country were identified with "enlightened" ideals of toleration, good government, and economic progress. Perhaps frustrated English liberals, like their counterparts in France and other continental countries, found in Prussian reforms a source of vicarious satisfaction. But with such strong appeal both for the majority moved by religious and patriotic feelings and for the "philosophical" minority bent on reform, it is no wonder that Frederick became a British popular hero whose birthday was widely celebrated with cannonades, bonfires, illuminations, and ringing of bells. The Prussomania of the years following 1756 was all the more intense, no doubt, because it combined an appeal to national interest with an appeal to British sporting instincts; this made victories like Rossbach and Leuthen seem the triumphs of a plucky Prussian David over an arrogant French Goliath.

Schlenke has collected an abundance of literary and documentary manifestations of Frederick's remarkable popularity and has not neglected the evidence of artifacts nor that of the fine arts. It is hard to imagine that anyone will need to repeat this investigation soon.

Northern Illinois University RALPH H. BOWEN

THE ROYAL GEORGE, 1819–1904: THE LIFE OF H. R. H. PRINCE GEORGE, DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE. By *Giles St. Aubyn.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. xi, 393, xv. $6.95.)

THE Duke of Cambridge became general commanding in chief of the British Army—for all practical purposes commander in chief, though technically he did not acquire that title until 1887—and remained in that post until he was forced to resign in 1895. Mr. St. Aubyn rightly suspects that few who pass his statue in Whitehall can imagine why he deserved such an honor; those who know why he is there probably think of him as the greatest example of Victorian obstructionism in office. He was a believer in the near perfection of the Wellington

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system who survived in a position of authority into the reforming days of Cardwell and Wolseley. St. Aubyn has set out to rescue the Duke from the detraction of the Wolseley cult and from the judgments of historians who, he feels, have been taken in by the reformers.

It is perhaps fitting that a traditionalist like the Duke should have had a thoroughly traditional biography. But it is too bad that a magnificent specimen of his breed should have had a traditional biography that is so indifferent in quality. Even that "ordinary reader" who likes to be let in behind the scenes of the rather tedious life of the Victorian aristocracy is not so well served as he might be. The Duke led a colorful private life, but St. Aubyn tends to chatter on indiscriminately about it, offering, so to speak, a running commentary on a pocket diary, and so makes it less interesting and amusing than it could be.

For the historian the book has almost no interest. The political background against which the Duke moved is sketchily drawn at best; the institutional structure which gives his career meaning is as good as omitted, even in military matters. We are not, for example, ever told what the technical duties of the commander in chief were. The account of the Cardwell reforms is superficial, and there is no connected, meaningful account of what Wolseley was trying to do. St. Aubyn is uncritically critical of both Cardwell and Wolseley, and—astonishing in a historian in the 1960's—he shows little awareness of the imperatives that governed the actions of the politicians whom the Duke hated so cordially.

Granting the Duke's high Toryism and aversion to change, the author seems to make two positive points in his favor. One is that he had a formidable knowledge of military organization, which is hardly surprising in one whose entire career was spent at the top levels of military administration. The other is that he was the soldier's friend, loved and respected as a technician like Wolseley could never be; this is the one other thing known to most people who know anything about the Duke. But even that case is not well made. St. Aubyn says in passing that Florence Nightingale thought well of the Duke in the Crimea and that he supported her. But nothing at all is said of her heroic badgering of the War Office on behalf of the common soldier after the Crimea. And the common soldier himself remains only a shadowy figure in the background. The rest of St. Aubyn's case seems to rest on laudatory opinions of the Duke by contemporaries. But do many people in a deferential society say anything else about a man who is not only an institution in his own right but the Queen's cousin as well?

At Eton, where St. Aubyn is head of the history department, the boys need, perhaps more than anywhere else, and undoubtedly get informed, rigorous, and tough-minded history. That St. Aubyn, having chosen a subject that could be both diverting and revealing, chose not to write that kind of history is a serious comment on the deadly effect of the traditional English approach to biographical writing.

Columbia University R. K. Webb

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THE POLITICS OF CONSCIENCE: T. H. GREEN AND HIS AGE. By *Melvin Richter*. [The Nature of Human Society Series.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. 415. $7.50.)

HOWEVER ill the ancient British habit of "muddling through" has shaped the national destiny, it has served British philosophers handsomely. Who has yet finally unraveled Locke's deceptive simplicities? T. H. Green stands squarely in the tradition, and the turgid ambiguities of his Anglicized idealism are the very triumph of muddle, for he has been among the most directly influential of all philosophers, and his obfuscations helped to make him so. He was a radiant teacher—his lectures were rather sermons to social action than cold analyses—and he inspired two generations of Oxford students before the First World War with visions of the Absolute and zeal to apply it in dedicated social service. Asquith, his War Minister Haldane, Arnold Toynbee, Lord Bryce, Sir Ernest Barker, F. H. Bradley, Bernard Bosanquet, Lord Lindsay, Bishop Gore—all these and many more gave witness to his inspiration.

What then was Green's message? How and why was its appeal so deep and wide? These are the leading questions of Mr. Richter's learned and interesting book, which masterfully lays bare the late Victorian evangelical mind. It is, in its way, a set of complex variations on Halévy's major theme, that evangelical Christianity spared nineteenth-century England from revolution, and we "witness Methodism bring under its influence, first the Dissenting sects, then the Establishment, finally secular opinion."

Green and his disciples shared the evangelical inheritance with its endless stern injunctions to struggle up Jacob's ladder, to mount ever higher through faith and good works to self-perfection. They shared, too, the terrible crisis of the evangelical conscience. Under assaults by science and scholarship, evolution and Biblical criticism, the ladder wobbled, and they lost their foothold on the simple pieties. Here was Green's mission: to renovate and fortify his own shaken faith and to inspire his students anew to clamber up the ladder. This he most successfully did. For what is his metaphysical idealism but the old firm of evangelical Christianity trading under a new name? The fashions changed: God became the Absolute, and clerical gaiters were no longer the required footgear (Green was himself the first married don at Oxford, and the first nonclerical philosopher). But good works were still the road to salvation, and these Green defined as social service in the organic political community. He was himself an ardent Liberal member of the Oxford Town Council and sent many an enthusiast in newly chic hobnail boots to work among the poor in the East End of London.

His was the most serious effort to replace the now-discredited (ca. 1880) Liberal doctrines of laissez-faire individualism and utilitarianism, to re-define *The Principles of Political Obligation,* the title of his best-known book.

Richter deliberately offers his thorough study as an experiment, an attempt to combine the possible virtues, the larger insights, of the sociology of knowledge with the detailed precision of the better histories of ideas, while avoiding the

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common vices, their windy platitudes and pedantic minutiae. He has brought it off triumphantly.

Columbia University MARY PETER MACK

PROCONSUL IN POLITICS: A STUDY OF LORD MILNER IN OPPOSITION AND IN POWER. WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SECTION, 1854–1905. By *A. M. Gollin*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. xi, 627. $12.00.)

THE enigma of Lord Milner has long been perpetuated and obscured by a Religio Milneriana in Britain. Dr. Gollin has tackled the Milner "mystery" and succeeded in getting the full measure of Milner and the meaning of his work. As in Gollin's fine study of J. L. Garvin, his thorough research has been enhanced by access to several collections of private papers unavailable to other scholars.

Although the book does not purport to be a biography of Milner, it comes quite close to being just that for the last two decades of his life. Gollin's well-reasoned study of Milner's personality, hopes, and failures presents a portrait of Milner that is profoundly human and effectively disposes of the hagiography that made him almost an "Olympian Jove." But while Milner's career dominates the scene, the story is enriched by shrewd insights into the impact of the Religio Milneriana on Britain's "locust years."

What sort of man was this personality who evoked such staunch devotion and such fierce hatred among his contemporaries? W. T. Stead, who knew Milner well, often remarked that Milner's great ability was mortgaged by lack of the common touch and by an undercurrent of intolerance and violence. This was evident in South Africa where, as a result of his hypersensitivity to criticism, authoritarianism became "an important element of his political outlook." Milner returned from South Africa in 1905, "an Imperial statesman of the first rank," with a deep dislike of the British democratic system. His inability to see how democracy could be made compatible with the scientific unity and order that he believed so necessary for national survival in the modern world was the "unsolved problem of Milner's life." This was also "the essence of Lord Milner's problem" from 1905 until his assumption of authority in Lloyd George's war cabinet during 1916. Milner despised Britain's political system, but still desired to guide and determine its imperial destiny. To accomplish the latter, Milner avoided the political arena and for a decade devoted himself to causes that he deemed vital to the welfare of the nation. The most important of these causes were for Milner the "Round Table" group and, even to the edge of treason, Ulster's defiance of the Asquith government during the Irish crisis of 1912–1914.

The coming of the war in 1914 provided the opportunity for Milner to exercise power and to attempt to demonstrate the validity of his authoritarian concepts. But to accomplish the fall of Asquith, Milner had to pay the price of an alliance with Lloyd George, the epitome of the party politician he despised,

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and then to endure the humiliation of giving his best to the nation in the service of that artful cynic. The fact that Milner had hoped to use Lloyd George and failed had much to do certainly with the malaise and defeatism that marked the twilight of Milner's career.

Why did a man so able and dedicated to the cause of Britain fail? In dealing with this question, Gollin rightly concludes that Milner failed because the only thing Milner had to offer for the political system he so disliked was the alternative of "rule by men like himself and his friends. . . ." This was, of course, an impossible alternative because of the suspicion and uneasiness that Milner's violence aroused and, more important, his inability to compromise in a political structure that was based upon compromise.

The hope that Gollin would have given us more of his vast knowledge of the intrigue that attended the fall of Asquith and the possibility that some readers might dissent from the author's opinions of the prescience of the late Lord Beaverbrook should not detract from the excellence of this book. It is a well-written and fascinating study and essential for an understanding of Milner and his era.

University of Mississippi JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

VNESHNIAIA POLITIKA ANGLII NA PERVOM ETAPE OBSCHEGO KRIZISA KAPITALIZMA (1918–1939 GG.) [English Foreign Policy during the First Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism (1918–1939)]. By *V. G. Trukhanovskii*. (Moscow: Publishing House of the Institute of International Relations. 1962. Pp. 410.)

ONE of the leading Soviet historians of Great Britain and British foreign policy, Trukhanovskii brings to this study an acquaintance with nearly all the published materials relating to his subject. His bibliography, despite some important exceptions, could be recommended to any graduate student seeking an introduction to the period. Nevertheless, his book is useful only as yet another demonstration of the gulf that still divides Soviet historians, particularly those who deal with the twentieth century, from their Western colleagues.

Indeed, the book is conceived as a frontal attack on British bourgeois historians who, according to Trukhanovskii, following the lead of British political leaders, diplomats, and publicists, have deliberately falsified the historical record, "thinking that the class call to whiten and justify the imperialistic foreign policy of England would excuse them from the necessity of adhering to historical truth and authenticity." Thus they have propagated what Trukhanovskii calls the "theory of 'satiation' [*presistchenii*]," maintaining that after World War I British governments no longer pursued the expansionist, imperialistic policies characteristic of the several decades preceding the war, and instead sought only to preserve international peace, holding on, if possible, to the gains of the past. This "version of history," Trukhanovskii says, is completely wrong. It neglects

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additions to Britain's colonial territories made at the Peace Conference and efforts in the years following the war to establish British control (if not direct rule) over the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Iran. Moreover, it neglects the fact that monopoly capital no longer needed to acquire territories in order to expand its power. And, most important, it neglects continuous efforts by British "ruling circles" throughout the interwar years to involve Germany, and also Japan, in a war against the Soviet Union, thus striking a decisive blow against the forces of socialism that threatened their power in the Empire and within British society itself, and at the same time crippling two of Britain's chief capitalist competitors.

These are the main themes of Trukhanovskii's book. Like too many Soviet works dealing with the twentieth century, it bases many statements of fact on value judgments—often quoted out of context, sometimes deliberately distorted by ellipses—from polemical secondary works by Western authors. Inconvenient topics are carefully omitted. Space permits only one example: Trukhanovskii repeatedly asserts that the leaders of the British labor movement were time-servers who had sold out to the "ruling circles." Thus he cites the Trades Union Congress decision in September 1936 to support French Premier Léon Blum's policy of nonintervention in the Spanish Civil War. But he neglects to mention the attacks on this policy made at the Labour Party Conference a month later, or the abandonment of it by the National Council of Labour three weeks after that. Omissions of this sort abound.

Harvard University RICHARD H. ULLMAN

PIERRE BAYLE. Volume II, HÉTERODOXIE ET RIGORISME. By *Elisabeth Labrousse*. [Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idées, Number 6.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. xvi, 639. Glds. 65.)

THIS volume by Elisabeth Labrousse is a six-hundred-page supplement to her life of Bayle published a year ago. Pierre Bayle, the son of a Huguenot pastor in southern France, died in 1706 as a refugee in Rotterdam. He was a prolific writer, having to his credit some thirty publications. His *Dictionnaire historique et critique* was issued just at the end of the seventeenth century, and a second edition appeared shortly before his death. The work was so intriguing that it went through ten folio editions in French before the publication of the definitive sixteen-volume octavo edition of 1824.

This volume is a rather ponderous tome on Bayle's religious and philosophical beliefs; it runs to nineteen chapters and over six hundred pages. There are detailed treatments of such topics as dualism, occasionalism, fideism, the problem of evil, the quarrels of theologians, toleration, and freedom of conscience. The abundant quotations from the *Dictionnaire* are, unfortunately, from the eighth folio edition of 1740, the last edition published in Rotterdam.

The author is chiefly concerned with showing that Bayle, after all, was a good Christian, or to use her favorite philosophical word, a fideist, and that

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behind his attacks on religious intolerance and bigotry, he was not an advocate of the Devil nor a conscious precursor of the Enlightenment. To me, the effort to make Bayle into a fideist seems a doubtful labor of love. Labrousse admits that Bayle had an especial talent for creating doubt, that his ridicule of such Old Testament worthies as Abraham and David (a king-prophet hailed as the "man after God's own heart") was inclined to be frivolous and irreverent. The author believes, however, that his "pleasantries" were more like the kindly and teasing differences made by an affectionate grandson to his *grand-mère*. There is no doubt, according to the author, that Bayle was playing with fire, but she does not think he was really an incendiary. She concluded that, despite his intellectualism and love of dialectic, Bayle has left "a message" that "we dare affirm to be, if not devout, at least edifying." She holds that Bayle, rather than being the link between Montaigne and Voltaire, stands in the line between Calvin and Rousseau!

Bayle, it is true, should not be approached through Voltaire or Lord Shaftesbury. It is more natural, nevertheless, to think of him, not as primarily a fideist, but as an early deist, who was a skeptical thinker and historian rather than a "set" philosopher. Labrousse would even make his skepticism the result of an "intuition proprement religieuse." It is a matter of interpretation and the weight of the evidence. The more likely conclusion, to me, is to regard Bayle as a skeptical historian who paid a prudent deference, on occasion, to the religious environment in which he found himself enmeshed.

Oberlin College HOWARD ROBINSON

SOCIÉTÉ MILITAIRE ET SUFFRAGE POLITIQUE EN FRANCE DEPUIS 1789. By *Jean-Paul Charnay*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1964. Pp. 319.)

THE French Army's abandonment of its role of *la grande muette* by its threatened *coup d'état* of May 13, 1958, has produced a spate of writings on civil-military relations. One such book is Jean-Paul Charnay's *Société militaire et suffrage politique en France depuis 1789*, a study as important, provocative, and well informed as it is maddeningly complicated. The book raises the question: what has happened to French lucidity and simplicity? Perhaps the answer lies in Jacques Vernant's description of Charnay's work, tucked away in its preface: "Ouvrage d'historien, de juriste, avant tout de sociologue." For here is the French sociologist, greater than life size, girt in all his armor, and a formidable spectacle he presents.

The *Gestalt* in Charnay's cat's cradle of a book is roughly the following. In attempting to analyze the relations among the French Army, the governmental structure, and the electorate, Charnay begins with a rapid chronological survey of the efforts of successive French governments, from the Committee of Public Safety to De Gaulle's Fifth Republic, to maintain the classic conception of dis-

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cipline and subordination in the army. Next, the author traces the utilization of the electoral procedure by professional soldiers who wanted to influence government policy and who aspired to a direct, "legal" participation in active political life. Charnay then sketches the attempts of the career soldiers to indoctrinate the civilians during their period of military service with the value system cherished by the professional soldiers. Lastly, he analyzes what happened between the Revolution and 1964, when the civilian authorities, normally responsible for policy, failed in their duties, and through default left to military chiefs the assumption of tasks that were not properly incumbent upon them. The Algerian war presents classic examples of this.

Since the author goes back chronologically to 1789 on each of his four parallel approaches to his subject, he produces a bewildering amount of repetition. One gets a fleeting glimpse of substantially the same French politico-military scenery four times in a row. And occasionally one is allowed to see in the distance General Edwin A. Walker of Texas, Marshal Ayub Khan of Pakistan, Marshal Abboud of the Sudan, General Park of South Korea, Colonel Nasser of Egypt, General Gürsel of Turkey, and others of their ilk, all echeloned in depth behind Napoleon, Ney, Saint-Arnaud, Boulanger, Foch, De Gaulle, and Salan.

Whatever one might say about Charnay's methodology, one is indebted to him for a staggering fund of civil-military information. I was entranced with Charnay's footnotes, which surpass his text, valuable as the text is in so many parts. As for style, historian-jurist-sociologist Charnay could hardly care less. His prose is pinned together with parentheses and semicolons. But for all of its irritating shortcomings, Charnay's book stimulates, informs, and challenges. Now if only a polished, traditionalist writer such as Paul-Marie de La Gorce were supplied with Charnay's data and encouraged to present them—but that is asking too much.

University of California, Los Angeles JERE CLEMENS KING

BOHEMIAN VERSUS BOURGEOIS: FRENCH SOCIETY AND THE FRENCH MAN OF LETTERS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *César Graña*. (New York: Basic Books. 1964. Pp. xv, 220. $5.95.)

THIS book pursues a theme that attracts increasing scholarly attention each year: the alienation of the artist in modern society. A degree of alienation is perhaps inevitable for any person with pretensions to intellectual or artistic creation, but the peculiar pattern, the intensity and the pervasiveness of modern artistic alienation, almost certainly has its origin in nineteenth-century France. César Graña finds the clearest delineation of this pattern occurring in France between 1830 and 1848, and he attempts a sociological analysis of the period. In the first part of the book he describes at length what the dominance of the middle class meant in the changed spiritual, moral, and political climate, as well as the effect the rule of the bourgeoisie had upon literary taste, patronage, and

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the market for the man of letters. The second section discusses the specific reaction to middle-class values and habits by Stendhal, Flaubert, and Baudelaire as it appeared in their ideas of the nature of culture, the purpose of life, and the role of the creative person. The third and briefest section discusses the heritage of the nineteenth-century literary Bohemian as it is reflected in the literary and cultural outlook of the past fifty years.

Graña finds that the new social and political order and the possibilities of the new technology gave the literary artist a potentially enormous market, but offered him few of the guidelines the pre-nineteenth-century society provided. Standards of splendor, grace, power, or elegance had not been set by the new dominant class, and it seemed they would not move beyond prudent calculation and considerations of comfort. This "amorphous and depersonalized market" left the writer with two consequences: anxiety and suspicion or heroic illusion. The writers, all defectors from the bourgeoisie themselves, decried the pleasures of a dominant class that did not include a proper appreciation of their own work. They passionately sought success (for all assumed that the Bohemian life required a decent income), but feared loss of freedom and integrity if they achieved it. In their rejection of bourgeois values they did not join the socialists, but rather presented themselves as a new aristocracy, based upon their own view of their aesthetic and moral superiority. In one sense, of course, the man of letters did triumph over the bourgeoisie, for it was he who left the most scathing and most readable descriptions of his own age. In addition, the cults of anomy, hedonism, dandyism, and alienation expressed in his life and his work left a literary legacy that Graña shows to have continued in the social perception of modern literature and in the self-perception of the "hipster."

The author's analysis combines the outlook of the social psychologist and the social anthropologist in the discursive European tradition of a Weber or a Durkheim. His "sociological" analysis does not affect a pseudoscientific jargon, and while much of the material he presents offers no surprises, his use of a different set of lenses to observe historical and literary evidence shows on more than one occasion the reciprocal relation between fact and value not otherwise easily descried.

Michigan State University STANLEY J. IDZERDA

LA CATALOGNE DANS L'ESPAGNE MODERNE: RECHERCHES SUR LES FONDEMENTS ÉCONOMIQUES DES STRUCTURES NATIONALES. In three volumes. By *Pierre Vilar*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI[e] Section.] (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N. 1962. Pp. 717; 586; 570.)

PIERRE Vilar's history of Catalonia will rank with the great French doctoral dissertations of this century. Since he is now director of studies of the Sixth Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études,* his work will have a wider

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influence in France than on Hispanists alone. How widely the entire work will be read is another question. It is irritatingly long winded in developing its arguments, and only the most committed reader will see it through.

Vilar's preface is a revealing intellectual autobiography. In the 1920's he began a thesis on the geography of industrial life in Catalonia in the spirit of *Les Annales,* but his reading in the 1930's and in confinement from 1940 to 1945—Simiand, Labrousse, Earl Hamilton, and ultimately Marx—made him a champion of what is now known in France as "histoire conjoncturelle." Originating as economic history based on the history of prices, it has become for Vilar "the most profound social history, . . . not only of economic movements but of thoughts, doctrines, institutions, and events. Quantitative history, having won its spurs, was becoming total history." In this instance "total history" aims to explain the appearance in Catalonia of a capitalist, bourgeois economy and the related phenomenon of a modern nationalist spirit. Economy and nation, "structure" and "psychology"—Vilar has found Marx a better guide for the first subject than Schumpeter and Keynes and for the second than C. J. H. Hayes and Hans Kohn.

Volume I provides background. First is a detailed, technical study of regional geography, which concludes that geographic unity was a factor in the emergence of Catalonia, but was not determinant. "[Geography] proposes without imposing," Vilar says, much as Fernand Braudel. The rest of the volume, drawing on vast reading and considerable research, reviews the evolution of Catalonia from prehistory to 1715. In a convincing example of his approach, Vilar shows how the flowering of Catalan trade and institutions in the Middle Ages produced an early feeling of "nation" centering on an alliance of dynasty and bourgeoisie. Thereafter, however, the volume becomes an almost disconnected series of monographic studies in economic history. Vilar treats the wars of 1640–1653 and 1705–1714 against Castile as incidents in economic evolution, ignoring the persistence of Catalan self-consciousness.

Volumes II and III are the heart of the study. They aim to discover the "productive forces" behind the economic resurgence of Catalonia in the eighteenth century. The population doubled and was redistributed, a demographic growth similar to England's, faster than France's or Castile's. Agricultural production increased through breaking of new land and improvement of crops and methods. The activities of hundreds of small shipowners and merchants expanded commerce into Castile and the colonies. Vilar makes the surprising discoveries that the beginning of Catalan growth came before 1750, thanks to the population explosion and agricultural prosperity, and that expansion was most rapid before the famous royal *pragmática* of 1778 authorized Barcelona to trade freely with the colonies. Catalan merchants had discovered ways to ship to the Indies since the 1740's. The curve suddenly turned downward after 1796, not only because of the revolutionary wars but because of declining population and agricultural depression. These conclusions rest on vast research into account books, fiscal

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receipts, census reports, and related materials drawn from archives all over Catalonia and Spain. Throughout, Vilar's use of sources and reasoning is critical and keen. There is sheer brilliance in his imaginative demonstration that profits from land rose faster than did the price index and in his analysis of how this capital accumulation was distributed in the social structure.

While we applaud these accomplishments, we are left disappointed. The most exciting development of the century, the growth of a cotton industry that rivaled England's, has not been broached, and the question of the modern Catalan "nation" is untouched. In his conclusion Vilar promises to deal with these subjects in a fourth volume on the nineteenth century. (Evidently French scholars in the long run are also pressed to publish before they are ready.) As a foretaste, he has placed at the beginning a historical sketch of the relationship between Catalonia and Castile in the last 150 years, centering on the interaction of social classes with political aims and national spirit. Such a discussion is missed all the more for the eighteenth century. Vilar has so far laid no groundwork for relating eighteenth-century economic growth to the phenomenon "nation" (last seen in the Middle Ages); rather the indications are that loyalty to Madrid and the use of the Castilian language both were increasing among the upper classes. Up to now his theoretical framework does not go beyond a search for the sources of accumulation of capital as a prerequisite for industrialization. (The only prerequisite? We are not told.) Despite Vilar's avowed commitment to Marx, there is nothing particularly Marxist about his "conjunctural" approach to the eighteenth century in these volumes. He is writing sound economic history, but he has accepted the greater challenge of writing "total history." We must still wait to see how well he succeeds.

University of California, Berkeley RICHARD HERR

THE RISE OF POLITICAL ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA. By *P. G. J. Pulzer*. [New Dimensions in History: Essays in Comparative History.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1964. Pp. xiv, 364. $5.95.)

MR. Pulzer's book should become the standard account of anti-Semitism as a political movement in Central Europe. It is a real service to analyze both German and Austrian anti-Semitism, for though the German part of the story is well known, the Austrian side has been strangely neglected. Starting in the 1870's, Pulzer gives separate treatment to Germany and Austria to 1900. From then until 1914 both are handled together, though such important differences as the divergent positions of the Catholic Church are always kept in mind. An epilogue brings the story to 1933, though quite correctly Pulzer sees the difference between pre- and postwar anti-Semitism not in content but in the scope of its success.

The value of the book lies both in its completeness and in the clarity of its analyses. Political anti-Semitism is a veritable mélange of rivaling movements

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and personalities, and Pulzer has managed to make sense out of this confusion. While well-known figures, like Stöcker and Lueger, or more obscure ones like the Hessian Böckel or the Austrian Vogelsang, do not get much space by themselves, they are clearly put into the context of the movement. Valuable statistical tables bolster the evidence. Moreover the rhythm of modern anti-Semitism emerges clearly: its rise in the last decades of the century, the apparent decline after 1900, only to rise again with a vengeance after 1918. The relatively more sustained Austrian impetus rightly provides a constant theme of the book.

Pulzer sees political anti-Semitism based upon both the rejection of liberalism and the frustrations of the *petite bourgeoisie*. This negative analysis seems to minimize anti-Semitism as part of a real revolutionary impetus. The primary concentration upon it as a "political" movement raises some problems. Anti-Semitism was a cultural as well as a political movement, and its greatest impact was in a realm that rejected the traditional definition of politics. Even when political failure overcame the various groups, anti-Semitism managed to penetrate important social and cultural institutions, above all, the educational establishment. Institutionalization was more important than political failure, and this partly explains why the so-called "dormant" period after 1900 was only a lull before the storm.

Within the framework that Pulzer has set for himself (and men like Langbehn and Lagarde do enter the discussion) he has made a most important, indeed indispensable, contribution to our understanding of modern anti-Semitism. To be sure, some recent works could have changed details of emphasis, modifying, for example, the Faulhaber-Innitzer dichotomy as describing the more tolerant position of the German as opposed to the Austrian Catholic Church. But it is all there, the whole lamentable story, and written with singular grace.

University of Wisconsin GEORGE L. MOSSE

GEGEN DIE UNVERNUNFT: DER BRIEFWECHSEL ZWISCHEN PAUL GRAF WOLFF METTERNICH UND WILHELM SOLF, 1915–1918, MIT ZWEI BRIEFEN ALBERT BALLINS. Edited by *Eberhard von Vietsch*. [Zeugen ihrer Zeit: Erlebnisse; Berichte; Dokumente.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1964. Pp. 145. DM 9.80.)

IN this collection of letters, Eberhard von Vietsch, the biographer of Wilhelm Solf, has sought to bring before a wide German audience what two cosmopolitan and humane German statesmen who opposed their government's policies thought and wrote during the First World War.

Metternich was a professional diplomat who held posts in Vienna, Paris, and Brussels, but is best known as the ambassador to England (1901–1912) who sought in vain to improve Anglo-German relations by limiting the naval race. His friend Solf was a diplomatic and colonial administrator of wide experience

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who was German Colonial Secretary (1911–1918) and, for a few months in 1918, Foreign Secretary of the Weimar Republic. Both Metternich and Solf had sought to avoid war and then to bring about an honorable peace.

Each showed his personal distaste for President Wilson, but both accepted Wilson's basic principles: an international association of free nations, disarmament, a peace of reconciliation, and the obligatory arbitration of international disputes. Both men were incensed when their countrymen approved the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, for this was precisely the kind of dictated, annexationist peace they abhorred. The correspondence repeatedly shows their interest in postwar territorial settlement. They opposed the annexation of Belgium favored by the Emperor and Chancellor Bethmann Holweg, Solf arguing that if Germany wanted to expand it should do so in Eastern Europe. Metternich was particularly pleased with his solution to the problem of Alsace and Lorraine. According to his plan, the area would remain under German control, but would be given a considerable amount of independence within a federal structure. There would be a German imperial *Statthalter* who "would be a sort of English Governor General." Metternich was convinced that the Alsatians would welcome such a government and that the French would accept it. The political naïveté suggested here is also seen in his nominee for Chancellor to succeed Michaelis: Friedrich Naumann. It apparently did not occur to him that William II and Ludendorff might not approve as Chancellor this leading member of the Progressive People's party. Solf shared some of his friend's wishful thinking. He was, for example, sanguine that Ludendorff would support thoroughgoing political reforms in 1917.

The editor has succeeded in his purpose of selecting letters that convey to the German reading public the hopes and plans of two distinguished Germans of good will. Two things, however, limit the value of this collection: only letters of the war years are published, and the editor chose not to publish letters containing specific details on political matters. Vietsch deleted such information on the grounds that "it would have burst the bounds of informal correspondence," and he wanted to preserve a light, readable tone in this popular edition.

Here then is a useful brief collection of letters, but specialists must await a fuller edition or consult the letters themselves. Those of Metternich to Solf are in the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz; Solf's letters to Metternich are in the possession of the latter's great-nephew, Count Paul-Joseph Wolff Metternich in Heppingen on the Ahr.

Williams College ROBERT G. L. WAITE

HINDENBURG AND THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC. By *Andreas Dorpalen*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 506. $12.00.)

HISTORIANS who hope to learn much that is new about Hindenburg from reading this hefty book will be disappointed. According to Professor Dorpalen, Hindenburg lacked "that human appeal that arouses the historian's interest, and as a

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maker of history he left his imprint on the course of events by inaction rather than action." Instead of writing a political biography, therefore, the author decided to write a study of the Weimar Republic centered on Hindenburg. The result is a rather uneven book. As an account of the Weimar period, it is thin on the twenties but very good on the early thirties. Much in it does not directly concern Hindenburg, while matters that did concern him are missing. This holds true particularly for the important sector of foreign policy. The documents of the *Auswärtiges Amt,* which apparently were not consulted, occasionally permit interesting insights into the President's thinking and influence on this subject, as do also the papers of Brockdorff-Rantzau. The study uses to good effect a wide range of unpublished sources, including government documents and the personal papers of many of the Weimar Republic's key figures. But there are significant gaps, notably the Hindenburg papers, on which Walter Görlitz based his Hindenburg biography, and the papers of Meissner, Brüning, and Papen, if they still exist. Dorpalen does not comment anywhere on the availability of these sources. About their significance there can be little doubt.

Not everyone would agree with Dorpalen's assertion that the "stolid and inarticulate" Hindenburg lacks interest for the historian. On the contrary, it should be a challenge to make the "wooden titan" come to life, as John Wheeler-Bennett and Rudolf Olden did in their biographies. Their books were not "scholarly," of course, but neither did they have the voluminous materials now available. Dorpalen does confirm certain well-known themes in the Hindenburg story: the Marshal-President's evasion of responsibility at crucial points; his aversion to becoming involved in controversy; his undeviating loyalty to his monarch; and his unfailing concern with his own fortunes and with those of his fellow agrarians. Yet there remain other questions to which one might have wished an answer. Given his reluctance to make decisions, how much of Hindenburg's policy was his own? If he was subject to outside influences, what were the nature and degree of such influences? Was the ubiquitous Meissner, for instance, really only the devoted factotum concerned with the smooth functioning of the presidential office, or did he have other ambitions? How did Hindenburg conduct his office? Did he write his own speeches? He is described at one point as spending "countless hours drafting memoranda and letters that he never mailed in which he defended his policies." Yet from the rest of the book one gains the impression that he never wrote anything on his own, not even his memoirs or his famous "political testament." It has been widely asserted that toward the end of his career Hindenburg had fallen completely under the influence of the handful of men who closely attended, or guarded, him. Yet Dorpalen cites "the unanimous testimony of his close aides" to the effect that the President was always "fully aware of what he was doing." How reliable is such testimony? To be aware of what one is doing, furthermore, does not rule out that what one does was inspired by someone else.

Hindenburg survived the Weimar Republic by little more than a year. The

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book's concluding chapter deals with this depressing period, describing the President's surrender to the "Czech corporal," whose charms he had so long and stubbornly resisted. There is, unfortunately, no final attempt to summarize and evaluate Hindenburg's influence upon the republic's affairs. The appended bibliography is extensive, but does not include such relevant studies as Henry Turner's *Stresemann and the Politics of the Weimar Republic,* Earl Beck's *The Death of the Prussian Republic,* Paul Herre's *Kronprinz Wilhelm,* and Klaus Revermann's *Die stufenweise Durchbrechung des Verfassungssystems der Weimarer Republik* (which cites some important evidence on Hindenburg's medical history). One might, finally, have wished for a critical evaluation of sources rather than a mere alphabetical listing.

Yale University HANS W. GATZKE

DIE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE UND DIE NATIONALITÄTENFRAGE IM HABSBURGISCHEN VIELVÖLKERSTAAT. Volume I, DAS RINGEN UM DIE SUPRANATIONALE INTEGRATION DER ZISLEITHANISCHEN ARBEITERBEWEGUNG (1867–1907). By *Hans Mommsen.* [Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in Österreich, Number 1.] (Vienna: Europa-Verlag. 1963. Pp. xi, 467. Sch. 295.)

THIS study of the attitude of the Social Democratic party toward the nationalities problem of the Habsburg Empire is the first of a two-volume study which, when completed, will cover the subject from 1867 to the end of the Empire. The work marks the beginning of a new series devoted to the history of the Austrian labor movement under the general editorship of Dr. Rudolf Neck of the Austrian State Archives.

While previous treatments of the subject in the works of Jászi, Kann, Schlesinger, and others primarily focused on the problems of national autonomy propounded by Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, Mommsen places his main emphasis on the Socialist party as a "supranational" organization and a force in the political life of the country. He has used skillfully a vast amount of printed and unprinted sources, including the papers of prominent Socialists, party archives, and Austrian administrative archives.

The author shows how the Socialist movement in the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy was at first successful in the "supranational integration" of organizations of different nationalities on the basis of a struggle for working-class interests and electoral reform. In terms of organization this integration was never monolithic, and there evolved gradually a federation of national parties with extensive independence in tactics and organization. As the only supranational party in a state torn by national strife the Social Democrats became the protagonists of national conciliation and reform of the state on the basis of ethnic federalism as outlined in the Brünn (Brno) nationalities program of 1899.

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Ultimately, however, the stagnation of political life in Austria and the tardiness of political reform frustrated the working classes and brought dormant national conflicts in the labor movement to the surface. Even the introduction of universal suffrage in 1907 did not realign economic and social interests across the lines of nationality as the Socialists had hoped. In the end the conflict of nationalities engulfed the Socialist movement together with the state, and the German-Czech antagonism that had paralyzed parliamentary life now also tore asunder the trade-union movement and the federated Social Democratic party.

The author recognizes that a natural assumption of German hegemony and cultural supremacy among the German workers was one element of Austrian Socialist internationalism. He offers the interesting suggestion that the Social Democrats had taken over from the liberal German middle class the concept of a "culturally oriented" nationalism that overlooked the economic and social aspects of this problem. But he refuses to follow A. J. P. Taylor, the Marxist-Leninists, and others in pronouncing the internationalism of the Austrian Social Democrats a sham and a failure. Rightly, Mommsen gives the "little Austrian International" credit for striving, through many decades, for conciliation and compromise among the nationalities of the state and for defending the cause of "international integration" against "the onslaught of integral nationalism." Balanced judgment and sound scholarship characterize this volume throughout.

Washington, D. C. ARTHUR G. KOGAN

ATTI DEL XL CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (TORINO, 26–30 OTTOBRE 1961). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica, Atti dei Congressi, Volume VIII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1963. Pp. 409.)

IN these proceedings of the Fortieth Congress on the History of the *Risorgimento* interest and originality radiate, so to speak, from the typographical center and, in varying degrees, rise and fall as one moves in other directions. The text of Ruggero Moscati's hard-hitting, blunt discourse and the resulting discussion constitute by far the heart of this volume. What Moscati does in his unorthodox, almost "unprofessional," piece—and he does it *cum studio ac ira*—is to demand a halt, in the name of honesty and truth, to the Manichean dissension in which the pseudopresentist political-ideological historiography of the last two decades has enmeshed the history of the *Risorgimento*.

Moscati makes a plea for more intensive monographic studies dealing with the actual operation, on local levels, of liberal politics and the new ethos of freedom during and immediately after the *Risorgimento*. He stresses the need for critical studies "by political historians but not by historians of political doctrines" of the collective and individual work and of the biographies of members of the post-Cavourian "Historical Right." Only in this manner, and not through the perpetuation of anachronistic ideological antitheses nor through the

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superficial syntheses achieved by historiographical diplomacy, can new ground be broken for the historical comprehension of the revolutionary novelty represented by the creation of the Italian Liberal state. Touching, more or less, on these same problems in his introductory remarks to the participants in this congress, Alberto M. Ghisalberti hopefully said: "We have arrived at a happy juncture in which we can at long last strike a balance and thus do justice to everyone as to his assets and liabilities. . . . This Congress will indeed make it possible to initiate a new phase toward the critical revision of *Risorgimento* [history]." This, Ghisalberti felt, might come about through the grant of the "rights of citizenship" in the temple of history on an equal basis both to the "Vestal Virgins of myth" and to the "Praetorians of science."

On substantive problems, the volume contains a series of articles of varying value and originality. Among the six dealing with the impact of the *Risorgimento* outside Italy, two contributions are outstanding: Jean Laflon's finely constructed article on French Catholic opinion and Theodor Schieder's felicitous analysis of "the image of Italy in the German unitary movement." These two monographs are examplars of historical intelligence, models of sensitiveness to the nuances of European reactions to the hard realities but also to the ideal symbols conjured by the strenuous passage of Italy from the "old" Metternichian, Catholic, and provincial culture into the "new" Cavourian, secular, and national civilization of liberal Europe. From almost completely antithetical points of view, Laflon and Schieder offer illuminating insights on the history of political ideas in France and Germany and on European liberalism as a function of the Italian *Risorgimento*.

Four articles reconstruct in great detail the major phases of the national and international "consolidation" of the Italian liberal regime during the crucial years 1861–1865. Ettore Anchieri describes the delicate problems faced by the new kingdom of Italy after March 1861 in its search for diplomatic recognition by the European powers; Emmanuele Morselli traces the difficulties and then the success achieved in "uniforming" the financial assets and liabilities of the new national state; Luigi Mondini makes intelligible the intricate technicalities involved in creating a national military force. The most impressive among these highly specialized studies is by Guido Astuti on "The Administrative Unification of the Kingdom of Italy," with its excellent bibliography. With this fine piece on the juridical, legislative, and administrative labors of the "Historical Right" Astuti has in good part answered the plea of Moscati for a monographic study on post-Cavourian liberalism as it first came to grips with the huge historical problems and the immediate realities that confronted it in 1861.

University of Rochester A. William Salomone

THE BALKANS IN TRANSITION: ESSAYS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALKAN LIFE AND POLITICS SINCE THE EIGHTEENTH CEN-

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TURY. Edited by *Charles* and *Barbara Jelavich*. [Russian and East European Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 451. $8.50.)

STUDENTS of Balkan history have good reason to welcome the publication of this volume. It represents a collective effort of major scope and a significant breakthrough in Balkan historical studies in this country. The essays, ably edited by Professors Charles and Barbara Jelavich, are directed to the interaction of three basic forces in modern Balkan development: nationalism, modernization, and impact of five centuries of Ottoman rule. By focusing on the region as a whole, the essays rise above the parochialism of purely national perspectives and, in this alone, attest to the signal maturity attained by Western scholarship on the Balkans. Considering the national diversities and international cross influences in Southeastern Europe, not to mention the linguistic mastery required for such regional scholarship, the result is an impressive achievement. It is to be hoped that this volume, together with Stavrianos' masterful general history of the Balkans, will firmly set the trend and generate increased activity as well as wider interest in this field.

The thirteen chapters are final revisions of papers first presented and discussed at a conference on "The Transformation of the Balkans since the Ottoman Era," held at the University of California, Berkeley, in June 1960. Following a brief introduction by the editors, a variety of topics are treated, beginning with an introductory survey of "The Geopolitics of the Balkans" by Huey L. Kostanick (which for unexplained reasons places Hungary in the Balkans). Stanford J. Shaw's essay on "The Ottoman View of the Balkans," based largely on Turkish sources, adds an important dimension to the over-all picture as well as to Wayne S. Vucinich's lively discussion of "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Legacy." "The Role of Religion in the Development of Balkan Nationalism" is explored by George G. Arnakis. The extraregional contexts of "Russia and the Modernization of the Balkans" and "The Influence of the West on the Balkans" are admirably (and respectively) synthesized by Cyril E. Black and L. S. Stavrianos, followed by two complementary essays on "Greek Literature since the Fall of Constantinople in 1453," by C. A. Trypanis, and "Nationalism and the Muses in Balkan Slavic Literature," by Albert B. Lord. Traian Stoianovich contributes one of the more ambitious and original efforts in "The Social Foundations of Balkan Politics, 1750–1941," and Nicolas Spulber a most useful analysis of "Changes in the Economic Structures of the Balkans, 1860–1960." In "Politics in a Small State: The Balkan Example," Henry L. Roberts penetrates with rare discernment into the complexities of national and international factors as well as those of personality and ideology. In "The Balkans: Heritage and Continuity," John C. Campbell brings tolerance and insight to the thankless task of examining present realities and future prospects in the light of historical Balkan sources of unity and disunity. The volume concludes with George C. Soulis' thorough and

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balanced discussion of "Historical Studies in the Balkans in Modern Times." Most chapters are amply documented and include valuable bibliographical reviews.

The essays vary in quality and, happily in only a few cases, betray some cultural-ethnic bias. It should also be noted that they deal with disparate time spans and (a chronic ailment of symposia) leave numerous issues unexplored. But all this does not detract from the essential merits of the venture, for the editors and authors have produced a systematic regional framework for the study of Balkan history. This could be accomplished only by consciously stressing the common (often nonnational) historical factors—Orthodoxy, the shared goal of overthrowing Ottoman rule, Western influences, and others—and by placing the considerable mutual antagonisms of the Balkan peoples in the shadow. The latter theme, however, has held center stage for generations. The time has clearly come for considering Southeastern Europe in the dispassionate terms of this volume. In an age when many regions of the world are trying to cope with the antithetical forces of traditionalism and social and economic transformation, the evolution of the Balkans, to borrow Campbell's words, "from a static to a modern society" becomes a process of general relevance.

Yale University IVO J. LEDERER

CZECHOSŁOWACJA W POLSKIEJ POLITYCE ZAGRANICZNEJ W LATACH 1932–1938 [Czechoslovakia in Polish Foreign Policy 1932–1938]. By *Jerzy Kozeński.* [Prace Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 36.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1964. Pp. 319. Zł. 60.)

THIS valuable monograph, originally a doctoral dissertation, is a conscientious, scholarly, and interesting study of Polish relations with Czechoslovakia from 1932 to 1938. Based on the archives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Czechoslovak diplomatic reports from Warsaw—the author seemingly had limited access to Prague archives—it introduces much new and important material. Kozeński's bibliography is most impressive, and one notices only a few omissions, for instance, H. Ripka's work on Munich. While it is surprising that the author did not list the stenographic reports of both parliaments and the speeches of Czech statesmen published by *Orbis,* it is obvious that he made use of them in his book. The study is well organized, clearly written, and remarkably free of facile clichés. On the whole, narrative supersedes analysis, but if Kozeński does not excel in brilliant interpretations he shows sound judgment and is shy of sweeping statements.

The book consists of six chapters that deal respectively with the background, the phase from 1932 to 1934, nationality questions in Warsaw's foreign policy, the Czechoslovak-Polish crisis from 1934 to 1936, the "Third Europe" concept and Slovak problems, and finally the Teschen issue from 1937 to 1958.

Several questions raised by the author are of great interest and receive able

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treatment. Thus, for instance, Kozeński has much to say about the still obscure maneuvers for a Czechoslovak-Polish rapprochement in 1933, and although the picture is not yet clear the reader gets a better understanding of the several proposals made for a pact of cooperation between the two states. The analysis of Warsaw's activity in the Teschen area is well documented and convincing. One learns much about the personalities involved, especially the Polish consuls in Moravská Ostrava and the Czechoslovak minister in Warsaw, V. Girsa. Kozeński's treatment of the Slovak problem is excellent, and he was right in devoting almost an entire chapter to Polish diplomatic maneuvers in Slovakia. It is a pity that he practically left out the question of the Czechs in Volhynia, but this is a minor omission after all.

The author is critical of Polish foreign policy toward Czechoslovakia, but on the whole is fair to Beck. As he puts it in the conclusion: "One must stress that not only the predecessors of Beck but also he himself attempted to gain Czechoslovakia as an ally in case of a conflict with Germany. These attempts failed and [to understand the reasons] further source studies are necessary." Kozeński adds that the situation underwent a radical change after the German-Polish rapprochement in 1934, but rejects the once fashionable Communist assertion that Beck acted as an agent of the Third *Reich*. Finally the author points out that the origins of Czechoslovak-Polish conflicts must be traced to 1918 when both states re-emerged as sovereign units.

Kozeński's study makes a serious contribution to our knowledge of Czechoslovak-Polish relations during a crucial period. It clarifies many misconceptions and fills an important gap in European diplomatic history. The book contains a four-page summary in German that may be helpful to historians unfamiliar with Polish, but in my opinion the entire study merits translation into English.

Indiana University PIOTR S. WANDYCZ

COMMUNISM IN RUMANIA, 1944–1962. By *Ghita Ionescu*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 378. $7.20.)

THE resurgence of the East European party states as forces shaping the course of contemporary history has shocked both the Kremlin and the Kremlinologists. The historic identity of the countries themselves and of the ruling Communist parties had either been ignored or rejected until the Sino-Soviet conflict and the Cuban confrontation revealed the survival of traditional nationalism within the framework of the new Communist order. Nowhere in the Soviet bloc was this phenomenon more striking than in Rumania, the nation written off by students of Communism as the most subservient of satellites. It is regrettable, therefore, that Ghita Ionescu's study was virtually completed by the time the "Rumanian deviation" became apparent.

Superficially *Communism in Rumania* is just another chronological review

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of the "socialist transformation" of an East European country in the postwar era. The lengthy introductory chapter is dedicated essentially to the origins and development of the relatively insignificant prewar Communist movement. The second part of the volume also reviews well-known developments: the establishment and consolidation of the Communist regime between 1948 and 1956. However, Ionescu, in summarizing, is constantly aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the Rumanian principals vis-à-vis one another and of subtle changes in interbloc and international relations. This allows the author to anticipate the present trends by noting the seemingly secondary but actually profoundly significant changes in domestic and foreign policies initiated and executed by an increasingly more independent Rumanian Communist leadership after 1956. Thus the last part of the study, on the years 1956–1962, reveals the greatest originality and depth.

Nevertheless, the prevailing impression will remain that of a summary statement largely because most of the documentary materials that have defined the course of Communism in Rumania since World War II have been published only during the last two years. These sources have now clarified several major controversial issues, most notably that of the role of Gheorghiu-Dej and his followers—the exponents of national Communism—in relation to Ana Pauker and her "anti-party" group representing the centralist, Stalinist, Moscow interests. They have also provided new data on the country's economic development, relations with the "socialist camp" in general and the USSR and China in particular, and interbloc rivalries focusing on the COMECON dispute. Ionescu's work provides only background and insight for those who will re-evaluate and rewrite the history of contemporary Rumania on the basis of an ever-increasing supply of Rumanian sources.

Wayne State University STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

THE FIRST STATE DUMA: CONTEMPORARY REMINISCENCES. By *V. A. Maklakov*. Translated from the Russian by *Mary Belkin*. [Indiana University Publications, Russian and East European Series, Volume XXX.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 251. $6.50.)

V. A. MAKLAKOV's book, despite its subtitle, is not so much a reminiscence as it is a detailed, specific attack on the Duma, and especially the Cadet leadership. The particulars of the tract concern events in 1906, but the real indictment is against liberal democracy for insisting on the creation of a parliamentary system when at most a constitutional order was possible. Maklakov assumes, and attempts to prove, that Nicholas II and his government sincerely accepted the need for reform in 1905 and that the October Manifesto together with the Fundamental Laws were the foundations for a new constitutional system. The Duma, in Maklakov's view, should have accepted the new order and cooperated in developing social and economic reforms instead of clinging to a revolutionary

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ideology that demanded nothing less than the transfer of sovereignty from the Tsar to the people's elected representatives. This position is elaborated in painstaking, often tedious, detail, as Maklakov attempts to demonstrate that there was no legal precedent for the Duma's position, that the Duma did not have a popular mandate, and that Duma tactics alienated the powers of law, order, and justice while strengthening the extremists of both the Left and the Right. Although the argument is not particularly convincing or new (the book was published originally in 1939), there is still much that is interesting and valuable. Maklakov was a contemporary and a participant in the affairs that he describes, while the political philosophy that he represented had been important in Russia for more than a century. His was the outlook of the official reformers or enlightened bureaucrats who accepted the view that a regular, predictable, and ordered state system was not incompatible with autocracy and would create the necessary preconditions for social and economic progress. In this respect Maklakov's ideas represent a major theme in Russian political thought. The entire work is, moreover, a commentary on ideological fanaticism that is peculiarly appropriate for our time. Maklakov appears as a political pragmatist who, if he blinded himself to the sterility and bigotry of the government, still saw clearly the terrible danger for society when only a choice between extremes remains, and his basic argument was for order, stability, and decency. His indictment of the liberals for protecting the revolutionaries who wanted to destroy them echoes Dostoevski's slashing sally against "liberal society" in *The Possessed,* though it is abundantly clear that this problem was more real to him than the plight of those who suffered the depredations of officialdom. What may be most significant, however, is that nowhere in this book do we get the slightest indication of the immense changes taking place in Russia, the powerful undercurrents swirling beneath the events described. The argument is always narrowly rational and legal, and the reader is left with the overwhelming impression that Maklakov, no less than the men he criticized, was insensitive to the realities of his time.

One or two words should be said about the translation. Maklakov himself was not a great prose stylist, and this translation is no improvement. There are many typographical errors, especially in the early pages.

University of Missouri RODERICK E. MCGREW

COMINTERN AND WORLD REVOLUTION, 1928–1943: THE SHAPING OF DOCTRINE. By *Kermit E. McKenzie.* [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 368. $6.50.)

THIS book is the most recent product of the scholarly approach to Russian historical studies evolved by Professor Geroid T. Robinson as a result of his wartime search for solid data on Soviet intention. It subjects the voluminous output of Comintern statements, resolutions, programs, speeches, pronouncements from

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1928 to 1943 (with a suitable introduction covering the prior nine years) to a detailed scrutiny in regard to three crucial points. First, it analyzes the Comintern position on the prerequisites and preparation for a Communist seizure of power. This clearly stood in the foreground of Comintern attention, since no victorious Communist revolution took place. Professor McKenzie studied it with due consideration of the fact that the party line changed thrice, in 1928, 1935, and 1941. Secondly, he examines Comintern doctrine for its pronouncements on the Communist seizure of power, and thirdly, for its views of the uses and goals of Communist power once power was taken.

There is nothing new or startling in McKenzie's analyses. He was told to find out, in the spirit of Ranke, what exactly was Comintern thought on the main points of revolutionary activity and progress. As a result he has produced a faithful exercise in Communist scholasticism (with a short but solid bibliography). Criticism, let alone judgment, has been reduced to the barest minimum, except to point out inconsistencies, weaknesses of argument, or other internal shortcomings. His conclusions are of the same quality. The dominant theme of Comintern ambition, we read, was power (as if global politics could possibly have a different theme). Comintern doctrine blurred the distinction between legal and illegal power (as though in global politics a generally accepted system of legality existed). It ruled out, furthermore, any permanent coexistence between Communism and "capitalism" (as if coexistence had ever been accepted by Western opinion). And for a final and more reassuring sample, we are told that Comintern doctrine was spotty and imprecise on the most crucial of all problems, the seizure of power. Within the limits allowed to him McKenzie has written an admirable technical study, with the live creativity of history and political theory all but squeezed out of it.

In judging a study like this a reviewer must inevitably take issue with the basic approach even when it was not fashioned by the author in question. He must protest that historians are not technicians in the service of a superior breed of policy makers and evaluators; they are—and must be trained to be—independent judges. Degrading historical studies (or professional training) to that level is pernicious and self-defeating. A study like this might have had its uses for policy planners in the State Department during the war, but by April 1963 (when it was completed) its painstaking detail had merely antiquarian value. The main facts about the Comintern had been known for a long time, and, anyway, the political scene had changed greatly. Had the author been encouraged to try out his historical judgment while working on the debilitating scholasticism of his sources, he might perhaps have trained himself and his readers for historical insight capable of judging changing situations. As it stands, his book may well reinforce the most dubious clichés about the nature of Communism. Is that the purpose of advanced scholarship?

Washington University THEODORE H. VON LAUE

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Africa

THE HISTORIAN IN TROPICAL AFRICA: STUDIES PRESENTED AND DISCUSSED AT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN SEMINAR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAKAR, SENEGAL, 1961. Edited with an introduction by *J. Vansina et al.* (New York: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute. 1964. Pp. ix, 428. $7.20.)

THIS book is a compilation of the papers of the Fourth International African Seminar organized by the International African Institute at the University of Dakar in December 1961. The contributions of the seventeen specialists are in English or in French (only a summary is given in the other language) and concentrate on Africa's precolonial history. An excellent introductory survey sketches the main problems of ethnohistory (or culture history, or oral history, and so forth; the argument over definition seems as fierce as those that once raged among medieval Scholastics) and summarizes the main themes elucidated by the seminar. The difficulties facing the student of this new subdiscipline of history are so formidable in the diversity and relevance of sources, the tools required to work in the field so complicated, and the dependence of each specialist upon the work of innumerable other specialists in linguistics, biology, serology, archaeology, and ethnobotany so absolute that one conjectures it will be the twenty-first century before there is a sufficient literature for a scholarly synthesis of Africa's precolonial history.

The main problems of ethnohistory are in the recovery and initial interpretation of oral traditions, the dating and analyzing of archaeological findings, the use of linguistic data, and the evolving of new historical concepts and techniques and statistical methods to break through the curtain of ignorance that hides Africa's past. Other questions of interest to ethnohistorians are the application of European periodization to African history, trade routes, the origin and development of state systems, and regional history.

The ignorance and prejudices of men and governments are also problems. Some men, even educated ones and even professional historians, still assert that Africa can have no history except for the period of written records covered by the European archives and Arabic sources. Apparently our colleagues forget or choose to ignore Collingwood's dictum that historians should employ unwritten sources, for with proper motives and criteria the unwritten word or tradition or myth can indeed reveal what happened.

By use of such varied techniques as oral traditions, ethnography, linguistics, and archaeology, a systematic body of data can be built up, and the early precolonial history of Africa will eventually be written. For the early periods (before the nineteenth century) the hopes of the ethnohistorian are modest: to establish a "secure chronology, the movements, the cultural patterns, and the forms of economic and political organization of ethnic groups."

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The papers are all of a high standard. Some are brilliant, for example, J. Vansina's "The Use of Process-Models in African History"; others such as I. Wilks's "The Growth of the Akwapim State: A Study in the Control of Evidence" and M. G. Smith's "The Beginnings of Hausa Society, A.D. 1000–1500," use such complicated and varied methods as to make a historian of the modern period feel as unsophisticated in his professional skills as the Venerable Bede. It is a book not only for the African specialist but also for the student of historical method and thought.

Hoover Institution PETER DUIGNAN

THE AFRIKANER'S INTERPRETATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. By *F. A. van Jaarsveld*. (Cape Town: Simondium Publishers. 1964. Pp. 199. R. 2.80.)

TIME LONGER THAN ROPE: A HISTORY OF THE BLACK MAN'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA. By *Edward Roux*. (2d ed.; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 469. $6.50.)

THESE books demonstrate that South Africa remains in its insoluble Gladstonian situation. The collection of essays by Professor van Jaarsveld, originally appearing in Afrikaans periodicals, reveals a movement in Afrikaner historical attitudes from a mere anti-British negativism to a more mature attitude, as Afrikaner nationalism has moved toward and then achieved the republic outside the Commonwealth. The author is an example of this trend when he takes a severe measure of Leyds and Breytenbach for their biased treatment of material, and even their selection of it, in the two respective essays, "The Anglo-Boer War and the Historical Writings of Dr. W. J. Leyds," and "History and Politics." Clearly, Van Jaarsveld belongs to the new republican generation of Afrikaners, who no longer find the key to history in the evils of Rhodes and Chamberlain or the heroism of Krüger and far-distant *voortrekkers*.

But Van Jaarsveld and those like him also belong to a post-World War II Africa, where European control has dispossessed itself, more than it has been dispossessed, from vast areas of the continent. What this means for the European minority in South Africa is indicated by the writer's call for a "unified" history in schools and an end to both "colonial" and "ware Afrikaner" interpretations in a total world context. Van Jaarsveld, with his own appreciation of the connection between Afrikaner history and nationalism, sees the true meaning of the appearance during the last decade of a genuine Bantu history with the avowed aim of stimulating a Bantu, or African, nationalism by a violent anti-European orientation.

And yet nationalism, at least the Western European type, is strangely lacking in Edward Roux's catalogue of futility and tragedy in efforts by Africans to break through European dominance in South Africa. The author's major interest is the Bantu, with side lights on similar Indian and colored efforts. But whether

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it is the ICU, ANC, PAC, or Poqo, the tale is one of a surge of hope and enthusiasm, followed by self-seeking personal rivalries among African leaders, internal dissension, splintering, jealousies, informing to the police—all ending with an easy victory by the European power structure over the movement of the moment. Roux's own previous connection with the Communist party has afforded him much evidence of the familiar Communist tactic of using movements for the party's end and leaving them wrecked. I found the Communist encouragement of such futile gestures as pass burning and passive resistance during the 1920's and 1930's particularly tragic.

Roux also reveals the stiff attitude of the South African bench, always European, toward official arbitrary actions. Again and again European justices have nearly tortured the written law to thwart such action and to free non-Europeans from its clutches. The most obvious example is the blowup of the mass treason trial, but Roux gives numerous other less publicized instances where the bench has defied the government of the moment. The book also proves what many people will not admit, namely, that the Nationalists only built, even if rapidly, upon an edifice of repression that was already well constructed, and while the author naturally damns the present Nationalist government, he lays the blacker guilt upon Smuts. The story of his grandiose statements to the outside world along with his South African record of repression and broken promises makes bad, and so, very necessary, reading. The government that comes off the best is that of the Pact from 1924 to 1929, which included a Prime Minister who contributed as generously as he could to the ICU, and who often rebuffed pressures from his own Afrikaner followers to "deal with the kaffirs."

Lastly, the author performs a real service, probably from his own experiences, in refusing to sponsor the notion that African nationalism is on the verge of a great victory in Southern Africa, which will topple European control very soon. Roux will not engage in such specious prophecies in the face of a European power structure that is willing to suppress African movements by any method and that has a monopoly on the instrumentalities of power. This grimly tragic book should give pause to those who from their safety urge Africans to mount the barricades in the republic of South Africa.

University of Southern California COLIN RHYS LOVELL

Asia and the East

DOCUMENTS SUR LA THÉORIE DE LA "RÉVOLUTION PERMANENTE" EN CHINE: IDÉOLOGIE DIALECTIQUE ET DIALECTIQUE DU RÉEL. By *Stuart R. Schram*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Materiaux pour l'étude de la Chine moderne et contemporaine, Textes, Number 4.] (Paris: Mouton & Cie. 1963. Pp. xlix, 65.)

THIS gem of a small monograph outlines with elegance, clarity, and ample documentation one of the key concepts of recent Chinese Communist thought,

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that of permanent revolution. Mr. Schram points out that in the Communist world political activity is not a game but an effort to transform the world by the exercise of political power. Why then in the mid-1950's did authoritative spokesmen of the Chinese Communist party resurrect a long-rejected Trotskyist term? Schram notes fragments of the idea of permanent revolution in China as early as 1935, and in numerous writings of Mao Tse-tung and other leaders after the CCP came to power in 1949. The theory was formally enunciated by Liu Shao-ch'i, now chairman of the Central People's Government, in 1958.

Schram explores the idea of permanent revolution in all dimensions save one: whether it is true or false as a conception of the world. He briefly but meticulously traces the development of the idea in Western Marxist literature. He then compares the chief features of the Chinese version with the Trotskyist version, finding in each case similarities, but much more important differences. First, Trotsky could never have approved the idea of the multiclass ruling bloc, which Mao borrowed from Stalin. Trotsky wanted to vault over certain stages of the classic Marxist revolutionary process; the CCP insists that each stage must be passed through without interruption. In this connection, the Chinese have not shared Trotsky's contempt for the revolutionary potential of the bourgeoisie in its time, and they point to this as a crucial difference between themselves and Trotsky. Second, both to Trotsky and to the Chinese, permanent revolution means world-wide revolution as distinct from Stalin's "socialism in one country." But Trotsky, the most Western of the Bolshevik leaders, insisted that the proletariats of the advanced Western countries must be the spearhead of revolution. The Chinese clearly believe that the people of the underdeveloped countries, supported by the socialist camp, will be the leading force in undermining the foundations of the imperialist system. Here they are closer to Lenin. Third, Schram points to the striking resemblance of the Chinese to Trotsky when they speak of the uninterrupted social struggle. But for Trotsky, this was class struggle in society and would eventually come to an end. For the Chinese, the struggle is not only uninterrupted but unceasing and infinite; it goes beyond society to a dialectic vision of the world and to a never-ending struggle of man against man and man against nature.

The charge made against classical Marxism that after the completion of the socialist revolution, the once all-important dialectic somehow ceases to function could never be levied against the Chinese.

Schram attributes the resuscitation of the idea of permanent revolution and other sharply dialectic aspects of Chinese Communist thought to Chinese history, to China's present domestic situation, and to its international position. On the first point he argues that the massiveness of the Confucian civilization is still today making it difficult for Chinese to adapt to new problems; hence exceptional bitterness in action and extremism in thought are bound to characterize the movement to destroy the traditional order.

Further, he points to the very different structures of Imperial Chinese and

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Imperial Russian societies and relates differences in present ideology to the fact that while the Russian state was "outside" society, the Chinese state was enmeshed in society and worked not only on but *through* local elites. Even after the reforms of recent years, the Soviet system is much more centralized than the Chinese system. The latter functions by agitating social groups from within and on the local level and therefore has a marked voluntarist element.

On the second point, Schram outlines the extreme contradictions in contemporary Chinese society and the need for doctrinal dynamism if the people are to be moved to superhuman action in both the traditional and the modern sectors. Here and throughout, Schram reminds us of the clear belief of Mao and others in the limitless capacities of men.

On the third point, Schram points to the position of the People's Republic of China in the international sphere. The sharp contradictions need not be emphasized here. A more subtle and important point is that permanent revolution is not only a theory from which a correct foreign policy may be deduced, but it also seems to reflect popular aspirations in the countries to which it is so effectively directed. Here Schram returns to his original point: ideology plays different roles in the political behavior of Communists and of Western liberals in the politics of advanced and underdeveloped countries. Study of Chinese Communist ideology must take account of the fact that China is both Communist and underdeveloped. At the same time, some essential points in doctrine can be meaningfully interpreted only in the context of China's particular history.

Yale University MARY C. WRIGHT

THE ORIGINS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN MEIJI JAPAN. By *Johannes Hirschmeier, S.V.D.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 17.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 354. $7.50.)

Two controversies run through studies of Meiji era Japanese business history. The first controversy relates to the class origin of entrepreneurs and to its significance: Were Japan's first modern entrepreneurs, rising to prominence before 1900, primarily displaced samurai? Did the samurai ethic of *Bushido,* suitably transformed, play the role in Japanese development that Weber and Tawney have ascribed to the Protestant ethic in Europe and America? The second controversy concerns the role of government in fostering Meiji capitalism: Was capitalism largely a product of public favoritism in the disposal of the pilot plants that adapted Western technology to Japanese conditions? On both controversies, Father Hirschmeier has fresh insights to offer.

As to "who they were," his main contribution, garnered from comparative study of fifty-odd entrepreneurial biographies, seems to be the frequency of local rich-peasant and village-headman backgrounds of the men concerned. These conclusions discount the importance of social class, although many of his peasant entrepreneurs seem originally to have hoped for battlefield promotion to samurai

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status. On the role of government, Hirschmeier believes the "privatization" of the pilot plants was less important in fostering entrepreneurship than the allocation of contracts, subsidies, and monopoly privileges, not to mention such devices as interest-free deposit of public funds in pet banks. He is not interested in the sordid aspects of this government-capitalist relationship, but views it as a series of wise choices by Meiji statesmen of particular men and enterprises to be favored. The chosen instrument, he points out, is usually a cheaper procedure than indiscriminate subsidy.

To characterize this approach as romantic or apologetic may betray a reviewer's tendency to biliousness, cynicism, or worse. Hirschmeier does, however, place considerable reliance on self-serving statements by Meiji entrepreneurs and their official adulators. He concludes that most of his heroes experienced Pauline or Augustinian conversions to public spirit, and were motivated less by economic considerations than by patriotic zeal in building up one or more branches of Japanese industry to the Western level. His ideal appears to be Viscount Shibusawa Eiichi, American-educated but professing to live by the *Analects* of Confucius.

Hirschmeier's brief biographies, with their underlying bibliographies, are valuable even when one questions their conclusions; least abbreviated are "The Zaibatsu Builders" of Chapter VI. An illuminating feature of his elaborate entrepreneurial typology is the sharp cleavage between an older group born before 1840 and a younger group born thereafter. The older men tended to be rugged swashbucklers; the younger ones were "pyramid climbers" and "organization men."

As the author points out, his sample is biased by his subjects' outstanding success. It is accordingly impossible to compare them with a control sample of "mute, inglorious Miltons" drawn at random from the business population. A related question is why so many embryonic *zaibatsu* died a-borning. Was the bottleneck incompetence or finance? If it was finance, why did not more Meiji hopefuls found and run their own banks and trust companies? Might not indirect subsidy—deposit of public funds on favorable terms—have been a more decisive factor than our author admits?

Carnegie Institute of Technology MARTIN BRONFENBRENNER

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD TRADE. By *Warren S. Hunsberger*. (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1964. Pp. xvii, 492. $9.95.)

THIS is an exhaustive survey of Japanese foreign economic relations, both in general (Part I) and with the United States specifically (Part II). Dr. Hunsberger, an economist by training, is both a liberal internationalist and an incorrigible though pragmatic optimist. These traits suggest the tenor of his

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book; in the final section (on policy suggestions) they sometimes approach the "preachy."

The volume's main value lies in its assembly of statistical data and institutional information about the postwar Japanese trade position. Hunsberger did not essay the more difficult task of making sense out of the prewar Japanese trade statistics, which are in worse shape.

The minutiae of theoretical analysis leave Hunsberger cold, and he sometimes combines positions of questionable consistency. Although a liberal internationalist, he looks with suspicion on price competition and takes seriously the Japanese concern with something called "excessive competition," especially from foreigners in their home market. Also, Hunsberger does not quite come to grips with the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem of international trade—that trade tends to equalize input prices between trading countries, an analysis that makes the "high-wage argument" for protection in labor scarce economies stronger than Hunsberger ever admits.

After tracing in detail the recent record of reluctant liberalization (by Japan) and "voluntary" quotas (on imports into the US), Hunsberger turns sanguine about Japanese-American economic relations. These things do not really matter, it appears, because trade has risen so rapidly in the aggregate. Perhaps an alarmist in my biases, I am rather less certain. The trade record in many individual industries and items, as Hunsberger's own tables show, is unstable and erratic; individual Japanese industries are well advised to distrust "free competition" with domestic goods on the American market. It is unfortunate that American exporters to Japan cannot form an effective counterpressure group against the competitors with Japanese imports. But they are mainly farmers, whose payments come whether their contributions to agricultural surpluses are sold domestically, in Japan, in Cloud-Cuckoo-Land, or nowhere at all.

Sooner or later, possibly quite soon, the US may face the dilemma between scrapping its elaborate structure of anti-Japanese quotas and controls, thereby ruining several industries, and watching its Japanese ally increase its economic dependence on bilateral deals with planned economies on both sides of the iron curtain. The controls should go, I think Hunsberger agrees, to be replaced in certain thorny cases (cotton textiles, for instance, as in Chapter x) by offsets against the Japanese price advantage in buying American cotton at world rather than American prices. In exchange, America might bargain for greater liberalization on capital investments in Japanese firms.

With the wealth of Hunsberger's data and citations (usefully indexed), one should hardly ask for more, but questions remain: Why did not Americans buy up more Japanese assets "on the cheap" during the occupation? Is there no future for US-Japanese joint ventures in Southeast Asian development, along lines urged by Premiers Yoshida and Kishi?

Carnegie Institute of Technology MARTIN BRONFENBRENNER

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ANCIENT INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONS. By *Bhasker Anand Saletore*. (New York: Asia Publishing House. 1963. Pp. xiv, 695. $16.00.)

THE objectives of this book, in the words of the author, are "to present the political theories and institutions of the ancients in a manner which will be serviceable to the students as well as to laymen interested in this important subject." The author has failed to achieve this for a number of reasons: the material is organized in such an overly complicated manner that general themes become lost in detailed discussions; far too much space is used to criticize, in detail, the views of other scholars; in too many cases the author's views are not put forth with sufficient clarity; the comparative study of the polity of Manu, Hammurabi, Kauṭilya, and Aristotle is neither dispassionate nor especially enlightening for the study of ancient Indian politics; nationalistic sentiments mar the objectivity of the study. For these reasons the book is unsuitable for laymen and is likely to be of use only for those students who already have a good understanding of the principles of ancient Indian politics.

In the comparisons that he has made between the *Manusmṛti* and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya—two of the most important ancient Indian texts on polity—Dr. Saletore has shown better than anyone else the dramatic contrast between these two periods. The evolution as such of ancient Indian political ideas and institutions is an area for much further research, and the author has suggested useful guidelines.

Unhappily modern European political terminology has been imposed on ancient Indian political ideas and institutions in a rather unjustifiable manner. The institutions such as president, cabinet, legislature, and other democratic forms simply did not exist in what was generally a thoroughgoing monarchy with the exception of the *gaṇas* or tribal oligarchies.

It would be useful if we could know whether the *Arthaśāstra* was an actual working manual of administration or a theoretical text as was Machiavelli's *Prince*. Saletore is of the opinion that it was the former, but he has failed to adduce any convincing evidence for this thesis, and the only safe statement that we can make is that we do not know which it was.

The nationalistic bias in this book is somewhat surprising in view of the more balanced treatment given by Saletore in his previous works on diplomatic relations in ancient India. Kauṭilya is said to have "adopted the empirical and the scientific method almost to perfection." Ideals that are preached in the texts are stated as historical realities even when there is contradictory evidence.

Although most scholars of ancient Indian polity believe that obligations, not rights, existed in ancient India, Saletore has rather effectively challenged this view. His arguments are by no means fully convincing, but they are weighty enough so that the entire question will have to be re-examined. This will have to be done, however, without reference to modern Indian political aspirations.

This book cannot be called one of the major contributions to the study of

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ancient Indian politics. The writings of P. V. Kane and U. N. Ghoshal are still the most authoritative. In a limited way Saletore's book makes some important contributions, but perhaps a few articles could have done this as well.

University of Washington JOHN W. SPELLMAN

THE AFTERMATH OF REVOLT: INDIA, 1857–1870. By *Thomas R. Metcalf*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 352. $7.50.)

IT is a pleasure to welcome this excellent book. Recently scholars have been looking at the history of nineteenth-century India as a sort of *Gestalt*, emphasizing the interaction of conventional historical elements. This volume is part of that trend. It is essentially a long, discursive essay in the British tradition, impressionistic rather than exhaustive, intended to be stimulating rather than definitive. Metcalf has really not raised any new issues, but he has invested familiar ones with new meaning. And part of his success may be attributed to a clean, flowing style that is never marred by obscurity.

He has concentrated his attention on social reform, education, land settlement policy, the position of the tenant and moneylender, relations with the Indian states, and the growth of "racial" sentiment. Perhaps the most percipient and original part of the discussion is the comment on the aristocratic reaction and the landlordism that it fostered. If his conclusion can be stated in a sentence, it is that the Mutiny produced an attitude of heavy conservatism in almost all aspects of British activity in India. This change was positively indicated in the abandonment of social legislation, support of the talukdars in Oudh, the official cultivation of the princes, and the reform of the Legislative Council; it was also manifest in the consideration of permanent settlement of the revenue demand. And it was accompanied by the growing conviction that Indians were naturally inferior to Europeans.

Metcalf has used the resources of the India Office Library, the Canning Papers, and the archival records at Delhi, in addition to the wealth of memoirs, biographies, and ephemeral material that documents his period. Even the physical problems involved in exploiting these widely scattered sources are considerable. But those historians who are strongly oriented toward the social sciences, those looking for a tightly controlled, manipulative study will not find it here. This is, nonetheless, sophisticated and useful history. I have no hesitation in saying that no college or university library should overlook it.

Los Angeles Valley College MARK NAIDIS

THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM IN NEW ZEALAND, 1852–76. By *W. P. Morrell*. (2d rev. ed.; [Christchurch:] Whitcombe and Tombs. 1964. Pp. 317. 45*s*.)

PROFESSOR Morrell's study of the provincial system as it operated in New Zealand from 1852 to 1876 was published in London in 1932. The first edition "was not

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sold out but burnt out in the air raids on London in 1940–1." New Zealanders show increasing interest in their history, and this second edition, little revised, has been published locally to meet a steady demand. It will also be welcomed by students in the United States and Canada, whose interest in and knowledge of the southern dominions were quickened by the Pacific War.

This is the definitive study of an interesting political experiment. The first colonies of New Zealand were planned group settlements on the Wakefield model. In 1852 the Imperial Parliament passed a Constitution Act that gave them considerable powers of decentralized self-government, but left ultimate power with the General Assembly. The governor at the time, Sir George Grey, set up the Provincial Assemblies which were organized and operating before the General Assembly was convened in 1856. They were strong enough in this first session to secure control of land revenues by the "compact of 1856."

Morrell traces the relations between the provinces and the central government until the centralists gained control in 1876 and abolished the provincial system. His work, thoroughly documented from primary sources, is a model of historical research, unlikely to be superseded.

Both the Provincial Councils and the General Assembly were dominated by highly educated men. In the provinces, and especially the southern provinces, they had available land and therefore funds to push public works and settlement. Gold was found in the South Island, where there were few Maoris to dispute land alienation and settlement. The South Island provinces grew in numbers and wealth while the North Island was harried with sporadic Maori wars. These were the political and financial realities.

Until 1870 the General Assembly was primarily concerned with debate on a high level of political principles: self-government, cabinet responsibility, the right to conduct (and pay for) Maori affairs. The Provincial Councils devoted themselves to the more mundane tasks of settling the land and opening it up by public works. The North Island provinces had financial troubles from the start. When the gold rushes ended, difficulties began in the south. Vogel introduced an ambitious public works and immigration policy financed by borrowing in London and attempted to secure it by setting aside reserves of land. When the provincialists fought to retain their control over land sales, he was able to acquire a majority in the General Assembly to abolish the Provincial Councils.

As Morrell concludes, the General Assembly "always had the provinces more or less at its mercy." No federal system was ever worked out, and when the financial crisis threatened to become acute, "the simplest and most 'practical' solution of the financial problem was to abolish the provinces." The centralizing tendency of unitary government was thus relieved of any local checks or balances, and New Zealand has ever since gone forward toward a concentration of power in the central government, largely, indeed, in the civil service.

Stanford Research Institute J. B. Condliffe

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Americas

THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN HIGH SCHOOLS. By *Maurice G. Baxter et al.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1964. Pp. 160. $3.00.)

THIS book deals not with the teaching of American history in high schools throughout the country as the title proclaims but with American history in Indiana schools. It is based entirely on visits to Indiana schools, examination of Indiana teachers' credentials, and talks with, and questionnaires filled out by, Indiana teachers. The authors' conclusion "that Indiana schools are typical of those in most parts of the country, that the American history course faces the same problems in Indiana as in other states" is not supported by evidence and cannot be accepted.

As a study of American history in Indiana schools the book lacks balance. A dreary picture is presented in successive chapters: of teachers who have an inadequate knowledge of history and historians and who do not read; of students who are "lethargic" and uninterested in history; of courses that are merely "a narrow, shallow review of sacred political items, drawn almost exclusively from the textbook"; of classrooms where much time is wasted in aimless discussion; of libraries that are small and overcrowded and where book collections and the supply of magazines are hopelessly inadequate; of principals, superintendents, department heads, parents, and school board members who do not have "much personal involvement with the academic situation."

Such a situation undoubtedly exists in some schools in Indiana. But practically no attention is given in the book to what is good and well done, to exciting classes, to effective teachers, to able students who really like history. Furthermore, the authors ignore completely the efforts at reform in history and the social sciences now being made in various areas throughout the country—if not in Indiana.

The authors blame the deplorable situation on the teachers who, they contend, are not overburdened with courses, students, and preparation for classes, but simply "come from an unbookish background and teach in an unbookish environment." To bring about improvement, "a return of public school leadership to academic departments of state colleges and universities" is advocated.

Cooperation between school and college teachers—as partners in education—is badly needed. It will not be forthcoming so long as college teachers believe, as do the three authors of *The Teaching of American History in High Schools,* that school teachers, students, courses, libraries, and principals are so bad.

New York City CHARLES R. KELLER

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O STRANGE NEW WORLD. AMERICAN CULTURE: THE FORMATIVE YEARS. By *Howard Mumford Jones.* (New York: Viking Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 464. $8.50.)

Howard Mumford Jones comes closer to the ideal of the Renaissance scholar than any modern American whom I have ever encountered. A highly stimulating teacher, a skillful and often controversial commentator on the public scene, known professionally as a professor of comparative literature, he is also a poet, a playwright, an essayist, a historian, and a translator. His mastery of several languages has made him sensitively aware of subtle, foreign influences in our civilization. Like the man of the Renaissance, Jones has not always remained the closet scholar, but has frequently plunged into the midst of life as a soldier, administrator, and champion of great causes. And, what is so rare as to be almost nonexistent among his colleagues in American studies, he has practiced as well as studied music and painting. From such a recital, it should be evident that this author, as he reaches the emeritus stage, is exceedingly well equipped, both by temperament and by knowledge and training, to give us his views on American culture.

O Strange New World is an idea book. In his preface, the author hastens to disclaim any attempt at "research." The many facts that crowd his pages are intended more to illustrate than to document his work. He has also had a lifetime of wide-ranging and discriminating reading and rich human experience to draw on in the making of this entertaining book.

Jones is a wise man who realizes that to begin any analysis of our culture with independence or the new nation (as many students do) is to start in the middle and miss most of the story. Instead, he goes all the way back to Jamestown and crosses the Atlantic to England and the Continent to trace the "image" and the "anti-image" of the New World that were first conjured up in Europe by Europeans. Next he examines the "transit of civilization" from Europe to America with a fullness and intelligence that would have enraptured Edward Eggleston. We may hope that many teachers and writers of American history will be invigorated by this stiff east wind as it blows toward the more provincial practitioners of American studies. Another arresting feature of this work is Jones's familiarity with the classics and his continued emphasis on the classic tradition in our early life, which was recently undertaken by his colleague, Richard Gummere. Finally, Jones knows from his own experience in the Midwest, Texas, North Carolina, and Massachusetts how deeply our culture has been conditioned by the sheer vastness of the American continent. One can only intimate here the importance of such broad conceptions, for *O Strange New World* must be read and pondered.

The salient quality of this book is to be found, not in its wealth of illustrative detail or the delightful allusiveness of its style, nor in the synthesis, imaginative though it be. It is discovered, with a jolt, in the first pages: the author is forcing his reader to think. He is a master of the fine art of irritation. As he wittily

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anticipates in his preface, this "specialist," for one, cannot accept more than half of what Jones says, particularly the tracing down to our own time of the many lines of descent of the ideas and attitudes first brought from Renaissance Europe. The colonial parts of the work are sound and convincing; what happened after 1800, which is only sketchily treated, is far less so. No matter! I am being made to rethink many of my own convictions, and I eagerly await the second volume of *O Strange New World*.

Brown University CARL BRIDENBAUGH

CONCISE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Edited by *Joseph G. E. Hopkins et al.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1964. Pp. viii, 1,273. $22.50.)

HAVING made the crucial decision to include all of the subjects of the distinguished multivolume *Dictionary of American Biography* in their new one-volume condensation, Joseph G. E. Hopkins and his associates were forced to evolve some formulas by which the 14,780 articles found in the original work could be encompassed within the covers of a single book. What they did was to adopt a scale of reduction providing minimal entries for minor figures, entries of median length for those of the second rank, and extended entries for major figures. The resulting product is uneven and unlikely to satisfy either the scholar or the general reader. Most successful is the presentation of major figures, where a skillful condensation has managed to preserve as fully as possible the content, style, and spirit of the original biographies, often notable contributions combining historical perception and literary distinction.

Less felicitous are the treatments accorded the secondary and minor figures. In fact, the minimal entries provide a body of information less comprehensive in many instances than one is offered in Wheeler Preston's one-volume *American Biographies* or in Marquis' *Who Was Who in America*. Considering the bare bones that are given the reader about so many notable figures, one may not unreasonably quarrel at times both with the relative space allocations and the emphases. Thus, it does seem astonishing that a third-rate Tory spy like John Vardill, with only a brief career in America, should receive more space than Peter Van Schaack, a loyalist who returned to America to become a pioneer in legal education (a fact omitted from the condensed sketch). One can question whether Henry Fairfield Osborn's contributions entitle him to a larger word allotment than is afforded John Wesley Powell and can wonder why a diplomat of the stature of Townsend Harris gets less space than Elisha Harris, a public health pioneer. So important an antislavery figure as William Jay is accorded a bare four lines, about a tenth of the space allotted to Theodore Dwight Weld.

Not only are minor figures condensed to a point where the significance of their contributions often eludes the reader, but the articles suggest at times that the task of abstracting was done quite mechanically, without perceiving the

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historical significance of the person or event described. Thus, one does not learn that Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer was a key figure in the Gallican faction in Congress. The sketch merely says: "Continental Congress, 1778–82." As regards John Sullivan, pro-French party whip on the secret payroll of the French legation, the article discreetly remarks: "He served briefly in Congress."

Finally, note should be taken of *The American Plutarch,* a paperback comprising eighteen lives culled from the original *DAB* without change. These represent some of the most penetrating major biographical articles, and, while it is perhaps regrettable that the number was restricted to eighteen and that William Howard Taft was deemed fit to appear in so elect a company, with all due respect to Henry Pringle's memorable sketch, this paperback will serve to remind the college student and general reader of the wonderful literary fare offered by the original multivolume reference work. It is to be hoped that the hard-cover and far more expensive one-volume edition will also spur the inquirer to look up his subjects in the original edition.

Columbia University RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE MANAGEMENT OF MONEY: A SURVEY OF AMERICAN EXPERIENCE. By *Harold Barger*. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. 1964. Pp. xiv, 422. $8.00.)

THIS book is divided into two parts: historical and analytical. The first section describes monetary institutions and policies from the beginnings of American history to the present. The main concern is not with banking as such but with management of money by banks and central banks.

In the analytical portion, the author presents his own interpretations and judgment of what monetary policy ought to be and how it should be carried out. He analyzes the proposals of many economists variously espousing no policy at all, fixed policies, automatic policies, and discretionary policies for the control of money and credit. He concludes that money must be managed by some authority exercising discretion regarding the means to promote economic activity and stable prices. Since opinion has and probably will continue to differ as to the right policy at the right time, Professor Barger ends with the view that ultimate reconciliation of fiscal and monetary policies must be given to the President. This means, in practice, that monetary policy should be taken from the Federal Reserve and taxing and spending from Congress and put into the hands of the civil service.

Barger seems to be too bent upon making everything work just right and unwilling to accept the fact that the path of economic history never was smooth. His main tools—control over the money supply and the long-term rate of interest by the central bank—are not adequate to the task in the opinion of many economists.

The author's analysis is careful and considerate. He is well informed and

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critical and does not accept panaceas or extremist views. His sources are primarily the writings of monetary theorists and practitioners, and he tends to rely on ex parte published rationalizations of action because they are the only data available. More recognition needs to be given to the general economic, social, political, and cultural atmosphere in which monetary decisions were made.

While reading this book I had the uncomfortable feeling that the policy guides of the past are not treated with the sympathetic consideration they deserve as useful tools for their times but that past events and policies are being judged from the presumed high tableland of modern compensatory monetary and fiscal theory as if that represented some ultimate truth. In fact, most of this theory consists of generalities, cogent, true, and useful, but without specific guidance for application at a given moment in time. Yet policy makers, past and present, are judged, after the fact, by the conformity of their action to these generalizations. The central banker cannot await history. He must forecast the consequences of action or inaction, and economic forecasting consists more of opinion than knowledge. Retrospective judgment by the scholar ultimately has no more validity than the retrospective causes and effects that it predicates.

Barger's history and analysis show that old guides to central bank action, even the gold standard, the maintenance of convertibility, liquidity of assets, and "sound" banking, had to be cast out when they could not meet the needs of the times. This ought to suggest that the wisdom of the present is not exempt from the test of experience and the ultimate verdict of history.

Monetary history is a small part of the totality. For perspective, this book should be read alongside other economic, political, and social history. Specialization of subject matter, though necessary, mutilates reality. We cannot understand the real forces behind the establishment of the Federal Reserve from the speeches of the politicians, and we cannot understand the monetary policies of the 1920's without appreciation of the new era philosophy, political laissez faire, and the dominance of the classical view of economic thought. Likewise the experience of the Great Depression and the monetary policy after Britain went off gold cannot be understood in terms of technicalities about the availability of eligible paper; it must be weighed in light of the avowed declarations of both political parties and the widespread belief that the gold standard had to be preserved, that the budget had to be balanced, that "unsound" banks should be closed. These were a part of the law and the folklore of the times. A monetary history is necessarily limited in scope and hence subject to the limitation that it cannot weigh adequately the "real" factors, economic and political imbalances, that were operating in the domestic and international economy.

The author has produced a good, useful, and helpful book, wide in scope, inclusive of all vital monetary issues, courageous in its outlook, and intelligent in its analysis. It is well written, free of jargon and mathematical symbols, which makes it capable of ready understanding by the general reader as well as the economist.

University of Missouri WALTER A. MORTON

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ORGANIZED LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Philip Taft.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. xxi, 818. $12.50.)

Professor Taft, coauthor with the late Professor Selig Perlman of the fourth volume of the Commons history of labor and author of two large and indispensable histories of the American Federation of Labor, is the dean of American labor historians. Now, after a long career of study, he has written a comprehensive history of labor, or rather of trade-unionism, from the late eighteenth century to about 1960.

Most surveys of any subject rely heavily upon secondary accounts, but this work, especially after the first few chapters, is based very largely upon primary sources. Taft used the archives of the AFL-CIO extensively as well as printed union and government sources and some National Archives records. An examination of the eighty pages of notes reveals that some chapters are based entirely upon primary materials. Only a scholar with unusual experience and industry could have written a book of this scope from such sources.

One wonders what were the author's criteria in allocating space to chronological periods. Slightly more than half the book covers the period since 1932, the terminal date of the Perlman-Taft work published in 1935, and this leads one to think this volume was intended as a supplement to the earlier work. Yet more than a third of the present volume concerns the 1896–1932 period which was so well handled in the 1935 work. There is some new material here but not enough to warrant such duplication unless the main purpose was to present a comprehensive account of all labor history in one volume. But if that were the main purpose, devoting more than half the space to the last generation seems excessive.

It is interesting to compare the points of view evident in the 1935 volume with those of the present book. Taft has not changed in his general positivistic approach, characteristic of the writing of the Commons school. But if one looks closely and carefully he can find places where the author indulges himself in some explicit interpretation, and, in general, he seems more critical of labor militancy today than he was thirty years ago. In the 1935 work, for example, Taft and Perlman, while they certainly did not make light of labor's defeat in the 1901 steel strike, stated that the decision to strike could be defended on the ground there was no real alternative, that the time was "most propitious," that Gompers and the AFL leadership "vastly underestimated" the strike's importance, and that it "is not at all improbable" that the strikers would have won if organized labor as a whole had actively supported them. Such mitigating considerations do not appear in the later book; the strike "appears in retrospect as a great act of folly." Another example: in the earlier work's treatment of the 1922 railroad shopmen's strike the conclusion was that the strike, even though it ended in defeat, "arrested the drive of the wage deflation movement"; the present volume is silent about such an effect.

This book is distressingly artless in execution, sometimes even exasperatingly

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so, and it contains less interpretation than many historians will think desirable. Still, it is a book that historians are likely to consult for years to come; they will find it a convenient reference, for it is the most thorough general history of organized labor in America that we have.

University of Wisconsin DAVID A. SHANNON

BURS UNDER THE SADDLE: A SECOND LOOK AT BOOKS AND HISTORIES OF THE WEST. By *Ramon F. Adams.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. x, 610. $20.00.)

RAMON F. Adams, a nonprofessional historian of the American West who has made a specialty of the cattle industry, gunmen, and law enforcement officers, has earned an enviable reputation as a scholar, bibliographer, and lexicographer with both laymen and professionals. This most recent (the tenth) of his publications is an exposure of the extensive literature on western gunmen that has made heroes of both outlaws and peace officers. In a detailed examination of 424 titles, Adams makes clear that the mythology about gunmen originated with the recollections of contemporaries of these western characters, with the exaggerated accounts of the participants themselves, and with the writers of dime novels. For example, "Wild Bill" Hickok did not take the trouble to refute the fabulous tales that circulated about him in his own lifetime, and Wyatt Earp actually promoted his image as the ideal hero. More alarming to Adams is the fact that virtually all subsequent writers have repeated numerous absurdities and glaring errors so often that they have created an almost impenetrable body of mythology and folklore. He pleads for a return to reality, away from fantasy, arguing that the truth about the early West is just as exciting and appealing as the myths—a position taken by professional historians of the West for many years. The author is a realist himself, and in an "Afterword" expresses a note of discouragement because the content of recent publications on the West suggests that he has labored in vain. Perhaps he can take comfort in the realization that the myths about the West prevailed throughout the entire period of the frontier experience, as well as in the present generation. Misinformation was a formidable factor in the westward movement itself, and the formation of public policy at the national level pertaining to the West was often based upon misconceptions or ignorance. Whether scholars wish it or not, mythology and folklore, particularly related to the West, have become as vital, if not as meaningful, a part of the American heritage as the reality. Yet historians dedicated to the truth, like Adams, can never give up the crusade to have it otherwise. His sincerity and concern should sound a note of encouragement to younger historians. Certainly any scholar who anticipates writing a book, or even as much as a paragraph, on the gunmen of the West should not use the available bibliographies or the reminiscences, usually described as primary sources, without consulting this volume to detect misinformation.

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The subtitle suggesting that this publication is a critical bibliography of "books and histories of the West" is unfortunate, for the volume deals with only one transitory phase of the West during the romantic period. It should also be noted that few professional historians of the West have concerned themselves unduly with outlaws and peace officers, and therefore only a few will be embarrassed by Adams' exposé.

University of California, Davis W. Turrentine Jackson

EARLY VOYAGES AND NORTHERN APPROACHES, 1000–1632. By *Tryggvi J. Oleson.* [The Canadian Centenary Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 211. $8.50.)

The history of the early Norse settlements in the New World has always been shrouded in mystery. It remains shrouded. Professor Oleson, before his untimely death, wrote this provocative interpretation which adds another voice to the confused chorus that has sought to establish what happened to the first European settlements in the New World. The chorus is a confusion of tongues and disciplines, as well as of theories. No one scholar has yet appeared who can bend the bow of anthropology, history, and linguistics to the degree necessary to exploit fully the scanty remains, literary and archaeological, of those settlements.

Oleson's principal thesis is that the Greenland settlers, far from dying out or being exterminated, extended their influence through racial amalgamation with the "Skraelings," whom Oleson identifies with the Dorset people, to produce the Eskimo culture known as Thule. The influence of that culture Oleson sees projecting itself from Greenland to the west around the rim of the Arctic. In stating his thesis Oleson acknowledges his indebtedness to Jon Duason, the Icelandic scholar whose work is unknown to most Western scholars. He also utilizes the writings of numerous anthropologists, but rejects their general belief in the emergence of Thule culture from pre-Eskimo cultures in the Alaska-Bering Straits area, and takes them to task for studying the Eskimo problem "in a historical vacuum." Oleson deals only briefly with the Vinland settlements since he considers the Vinland voyages "never more than a brief and accidental episode in the life of a people who were more than content to carry on their wonted way of life in the countries they had settled. . . ." Nor does he dwell in great detail upon the voyages of Cabot, Frobisher, and their successors, though he recounts with some care the evidence of their contact with the "native" peoples they met, who are often, in Oleson's interpretation, the product of the racial amalgamation he emphasizes.

Oleson has not served himself well by the incautious certainty with which he has stated his thesis. Since he has peppered his text with words like "absurd," "ludicrous," "preposterous," and "pure fantasy" in discussing other points of view, he would seem to have invited similar treatment of his own thesis. Yet despite his strident manner, Oleson has called, or recalled, the attention of

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scholars to evidence of Icelandic influence that is often overlooked. Someday, hopefully, the gap between historian and anthropologist and between theory and fact, in regard to the Arctic, will be closed. But the "still North" continues to hold its secret.

Smithsonian Institution WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

NEW JERSEY FROM COLONY TO STATE, 1609–1789. By *Richard P. McCormick*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume I.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 191. $3.95.)

NEW JERSEY AND THE CIVIL WAR: AN ALBUM OF CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS. Edited with introductions by *Earl Schenck Miers*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume II.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xii, 135. $3.95.)

NEW JERSEY AND THE ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA. By *Wesley Frank Craven*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume III.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 114. $3.95.)

THE STORY OF THE JERSEY SHORE. By *Harold F. Wilson*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume IV.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xi, 139. $3.95.)

PRINCETON AND RUTGERS: THE TWO COLONIAL COLLEGES OF NEW JERSEY. By *George P. Schmidt*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume V.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xi, 137. $3.95.)

THE New Jersey Tercentenary Commission has sponsored the publication of a "New Jersey Historical Series," of which these five volumes are the first to be issued. The titles of nine others are announced, and more are promised. The projectors of the publication have invited a number of scholars to write comparatively brief studies of the phases of New Jersey's history in which they have special competence. These handy volumes are being published as completed, in no strict chronological or topical sequence.

The venture is very appropriately started by McCormick's volume summarizing New Jersey's colonial development. It is probably no exaggeration to say that this colony presents as complex an early history as any of the thirteen. The variety of promoters and groups of settlers, together with the arbitrary division of the society into two political divisions, for much of the time independent of each other, provides as confusing a series of determinants as is likely to be found anywhere. In handling this confusing data McCormick shows himself a master of understanding, of synthesis, and of communication.

This volume has a very effectively designed companion in Craven's work which fits the New Jersey colonial experience into the general English enterprise in North America using an original concept of community interdependence. The

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works of Craven and McCormick dovetail effectively, avoiding unnecessary repetition and providing a satisfying distillation of a complex mass of basic material.

Schmidt's work is a contribution to the cultural phases of New Jersey's history. The idea of treating two colleges is unusual just as the relations of Princeton and Rutgers have been unusual. It is the story of two institutions that have been able to live not too far from each other in a spirit of friendly rivalry.

The story of New Jersey's contribution to the Civil War could have been tedious and pedestrian if the conventional forms of historiography had been followed. But Miers undertook to present an "Album of Contemporary Accounts," a striking example of historical impressionism that conveys the story most effectively. Also in this last year of a four-year commemorative spree, it is a blessed relief to find something so original.

Wilson's task has been to give a history of a recreational area. The striking introduction given long ago by Walt Whitman to this story is appropriately quoted, followed by a series of vignettes and episodes that unite the sea to society through the three centuries in a fashion that contributes to knowledge of the relationship of a recreational shore region to the culture developing in the hinterland.

The other titles announced to date stimulate anticipation of further convenient and significant contributions. The novel plan of this work, however, at this point presents a certain miscellaneous appearance with such apparent gaps as the absence of consideration of the state's notable economic history. It is expected that these omissions are being planned for. It is hoped that there will be further study of the relationship of this "dormitory" state to its neighbors and to the sectionalism that is one of its chief features. Likewise it would be most fitting if a final interpretive volume could be prepared to sum up the significance of the state's long history.

The probability seems to be that this series will be published promptly and be eagerly received. For each of these books yields to the reader so much for a minimum of effort. It is an example of communication that is economical in time consumed and rewarding in understanding contributed. There is every indication that when the series is completed it will provide a model unique in historical conception and execution. The New Jersey Commission, the editors, and the authors are to be congratulated; they have raised a standard that other states may well follow. They have lifted the status of local history.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. 351. $12.50.)

THIS is one of those rarest of historiographical achievements: a publication of the

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original text of a historical and literary classic in which the bookmaker's art and the historian's best technical editorial skill are combined to produce a work that is both a dependable scholar's source, a reader's delight, and a thing of beauty.

Franklin's *Autobiography* is the most famous of such accounts in American literature. It has been printed many times and has for generations been required reading for high school and college students of American history and literature. Curiously enough, all the editions prior to this one, except the mutilated Bigelow edition of 1868 (*Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. Edited from His Manuscript,* with Plates and an Introduction, by John Bigelow) and the "original" printed with three other texts in Max Farrand's parallel text edition (*Benjamin Franklin's Memoirs,* Parallel Text edition. . . , edited by Max Farrand [1949]) were either translations or distorted or incomplete versions based upon the inaccurate edition of William Temple Franklin or the incomplete copies made by Benjamin Franklin Bache.

This, then, is the third edition of Franklin's memoirs based upon the original manuscript, written by Franklin himself, which now reposes in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Needless to say, it accurately and scrupulously reproduces exactly what Franklin himself wrote. It is copied almost exactly from Farrand's printed version of the original manuscript, but its accuracy has been checked by collation with a photostat of the original manuscript itself.

In their preparation of the text for printing, the editors made certain slight textual modifications of the original. In making these changes, they have gone a short step beyond Farrand, who made most but not all of these same changes, in the direction of making the reading of Franklin's original idiom easier for the modern reader. This may be desirable; certainly the meaning of the text has not been changed. Yet the question may well be raised whether even these mechanical simplifications may not destroy or diminish the contemporary "flavor" of the Franklin idiom. It is an old scholarly dilemma: how far may an editor go in "retouching" the text of the original document, even for the sake of ease of reading and even if the exact meaning of the original is not altered? Most modern scholars would agree, probably, that the present editors have not gone too far.

The book is well edited. Annotations are of two sorts: explanations of matters in the text are placed in footnotes on the same page with the passage explained (there seems to be neither rhyme nor reason for the system—or lack of it—used in the numbering of the footnotes); brief biographical notes on the persons referred to by Franklin are placed at the end of the book, in alphabetical order. The book also contains a "Franklin chronology," a brief bibliography, and an index. The beauty and the "Franklin atmosphere" of the book are enhanced by five fine illustrations.

The introduction, of course, is the editors' most important contribution. It places the *Autobiography* in "its times," discusses it as a peculiarly "American Document," describes its "Literary Artistry," its "Influence," its treatment by

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"the Critics," and "The Autobiography Today," and gives a history of the writing of the *Autobiography* and its earlier publication. The introduction is, in other words, a descriptive history of the *Autobiography*.

But is this all that an introduction ought to be? The editors describe the *Autobiography* as an "American" document, but there is no effort critically to place this work either in the intellectual context of the "American mind" of Franklin's time (if there was one) or in the larger context of the mind of the eighteenth century or of any of its many moods. No apparent attempt is made to place this autobiography in its intellectual milieu, either American or Western. No attempt is made to place Franklin himself in "eighteenth-century" society or politics or intellectual life. The section of the introduction devoted to "The Autobiography and the Critics" is a résumé of what others have said about the *Autobiography* and the man revealed by it. In the section on "Literary Artistry" the editors venture one paragraph of their own and then fall back on Phillips Brooks and Lecky, both nineteenth-century critics. One of the most severe criticisms of this introduction is that the editors rely so heavily upon other critical assessors of the document and so little upon themselves.

On the other hand, in the section on "The Autobiography Today," the editors attempt to show a pertinence of this eighteenth-century document to life today. But is this anachronistic relating of an ancient document to the modern world the function of a scholarly editor? Should he not, instead, limit himself to showing the pertinence of the document to its own times?

What, then, should an introduction to such a document be like? Here is one of the great *monumenta* of the eighteenth-century Western mind. Surely such a handsome, well-edited text of such an important document deserves, as an introduction, an original essay in historical criticism that would match the stature of the *Autobiography* itself. Unfortunately, it does not have such an introduction. It is a grievous failure.

University of Washington MAX SAVELLE

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS. By *William S. Hanna.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 239. $6.50.)

HANNA challenges the version of Pennsylvania politics, 1750–1775, that unites the legendary genius of Franklin with a mythical Quaker egalitarianism to create the purposeful and decisive force that balked a tyrannical proprietor, Thomas Penn, and sped the colonial quest for freedom that culminated in 1776. Such an interpretation, says Hanna, "cannot be maintained." Franklin and his Quaker allies, like politicians in any age, waged petty partisan warfare to promote not principles but their own immediate and private advantage.

Persuaded by a postmastership to support the Proprietary party, Franklin soon broke with it, angry because Penn had failed adequately to acknowledge his aid to Braddock in the spring of 1755. The "war Quakers" nourished Frank-

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lin's pique and soon enlisted him as their leader in the struggle for power between Assembly and proprietor. In England, 1757–1763, as the Quaker Assembly's agent to strip Penn of his remaining proprietary rights, Franklin signally failed. After Philadelphia's voters rejected him for an Assembly seat in 1764, Franklin drafted a petition for royal government of Pennsylvania and induced the Assembly to approve it. He returned to London to oust Penn and, some thought, make himself governor. Franklin's bad judgment in supporting the Stamp Act in order to curry favor with the Grenville ministry on behalf of his Assembly petition destroyed his political popularity at home and gained him none in England.

By the time Franklin returned to Philadelphia in 1775 he had lost touch with local politics. Neither his Quaker Assembly friends nor the Proprietary party approved the revolutionary impulse. Pennsylvania radicals, hitherto excluded from provincial politics by the Quakers, appropriated Franklin not because they trusted him but because they hoped to use him to their advantage. Franklin entered the revolutionary movement not as a leader of the radicals, but as a figurehead set up and directed by the new political activists. This portrayal of Franklin suggests, perhaps, why Carl Van Doren chose not to include the label "Politician" among the twenty-six topical chapter headings of his magnum opus.

Hanna's story has been drawn largely from manuscript collections in Philadelphia and New Haven. His exceedingly provocative book enhances the stature of Thomas Penn, depreciates both Franklin and the Quakers as defenders of liberty, and greatly illuminates the personal factors controlling Pennsylvania politics in this era. I would mainly criticize the author for hammering too hard at his theme, a trait we have come to expect in revisionists.

Pennsylvania State University PHILIP SHRIVER KLEIN

A HISTORY OF GEORGIA AGRICULTURE, 1732–1860. By *James C. Bonner*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 242. $6.00.)

THIS volume undertakes to tell the full story of Georgia's agricultural history and is an outgrowth of Professor Bonner's earlier work on the progress of the agricultural revolution in that state to 1860.

Because of its location, Georgia witnessed efforts in the colonial period, with varying degrees of success, to produce certain exotic plants not grown elsewhere in the British possessions. Such efforts accorded perfectly with mercantilist hopes for over-all economic self-sufficiency. Limitations as to soil, climate, and labor, however, soon dictated that rice, indigo, naval stores, hemp, and livestock should be the chief products of the colony. The widespread efforts, supported by a bounty, to produce silk came nearer success in Georgia than in any other colony. The outbreak of the American Revolution, however, brought an end to the bounty system and production of indigo and silk. Diversified farming with heavy emphasis upon production of subsistence crops was most effectively de-

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veloped by German colonists. Most of the work was done by hand because of a scarcity of horses and laborsaving implements. Plows were almost nonexistent in colonial Georgia.

With the winning of independence, Georgia claimed the largest public domain of any of the states. The problem of making this land available for private exploitation stimulated a great speculative interest that "remained the central theme of Georgia history for the next fifty years." The demand for land by producers of the new commercial crops—sugar cane, tobacco, and upland cotton, particularly the last—sped up settlement of lands freshly brought onto the markets. By 1830 Georgia had taken the lead from South Carolina in cotton production, and the mule, driven by a slave, had replaced the ox as the principal draft animal. Shallow plowing in the culture of cotton and persistence of the frontier system of agriculture led to quick exhaustion of the soil, and Georgia, like its neighbors to the north, witnessed a heavy migration of its people to the new lands in the West. To stop these losses, Georgians joined in the national effort after 1815 to promote over-all agricultural reform. Soil conservation, diversification, application of science in farming, use of improved implements, and self-sufficiency became the objectives. Agricultural societies, fairs, and journals became the vehicles for promoting reform. By 1860 outward migration of Georgians had been greatly reduced, the quest for grasses and improved livestock had brought significant improvements, and Georgia "had won a regional reputation for agricultural diversity. . . ."

Based upon a thorough knowledge of the sources interestingly interspersed with quotations by contemporaries, Bonner's work is a significant contribution to the history of the ante bellum period.

University of North Carolina CORNELIUS O. CATHEY

JOHN MARSHALL AND ALEXANDER HAMILTON: ARCHITECTS OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. By *Samuel J. Konefsky*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. viii, 274. $5.95.)

COMMENDED to those who want to know how one of today's emerging nations may prosper, this book is not so much a story of the past as of the present and the future. Over a century ago Friedrich List, who understood the requisites of a society's development, recommended a firm hand on the helm at the outset. A people with no native experience in self-government may benefit from a patriot dictator, as several examples are indicating. Even in our country, with an inherited constitutional tradition, there was fumbling at first. The Confederation yielded too much to the hatred of British tyranny, and the Constitution itself preserved cautions that might have proved harmful to the very freedom they were intended to protect.

Thus the mission of Hamilton and Marshall was rendered in a way more difficult because the United States had made a fresh start in constructing a

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superior fundamental law. They could not use direct authority, but must interpret creatively and resolutely an instrument that seemed to fix desirable guarantees. The object of the two statesmen was the same: to establish in fact as well as in name a strong nation. Perhaps Marshall's task was the harder. Hamilton brought solvency and system out of confusion. But Marshall as Chief Justice found himself in the second stage of progress in which democracy, unprepared in the beginning, demanded to take over. Marshall on the bench must persist as protagonist of central power long after champions of popular permissiveness had captured legislature and executive. Hamilton's policies were clamorously antagonized, but he had the help of economic and political necessity in scattering objectors. Marshall was confronted by entrenched foes, whose lines must be penetrated rather than carried by storm. Marshall must be tutor while he was commander.

Konefsky has told the story of these two activists with remarkable directness and discernment. While he documents appropriately, he gives us more than a book of materials. From wide acquaintance and mature reflection he invites the reader to appreciate contending forces in the stressful scene. While the volume is illuminating for the general public, it must be not less instructive to students in the classroom. The progress does not close with Marshall's death, for by implication the reader aware of current problems will draw wisdom from these pages.

Both Hamilton and Marshall snatched victory from defeat. Hamilton turned a reproachful debt into the means of national rescue. Marshall, more remotely, made the neglected judiciary a principal force in the land. This is a story of personal and public greatness.

Hofstra University BROADUS MITCHELL

GILBERT STUART: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Charles Merrill Mount.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1964. Pp. 384. $10.00.)

WHILE it may not take a thief to catch a thief, certainly the artist and historian Charles Mount was well prepared to spot the work of any imposter and to understand the problems that vexed the internationally renowned, New England-born painter, Gilbert Stuart. The author's diligence is attested by his catalogue "of the entire known works" of Stuart, listing over 260 English and Irish works and about 850 American, including almost 100 of Washington. The record of over 1,100 known productions during a fifty-year period, with time out as an assistant to the great Benjamin West, hardly fits the picture Mount created of an indifferent worker. Furthermore, many of the English paintings have been lost or destroyed. A reader begins to wonder if the repeated description of Stuart as "slovenly" was always so.

Young Stuart was a diligent student of Cosmo Alexander prior to 1772. When West gave him his great chance at an artistic career, he pleased the master. Stuart learned how to meet statesmen, generals, and merchants, a training he used to

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good purpose after he left West's studio. Such people often wrote letters and kept memoirs, and the author has used several. The author's extensive "notes," however, are really an annotated bibliography rather than the historian's footnotes. We know that West was proud of Stuart. Not long before Stuart left London for Dublin, West asked him to paint his portrait which would be presented to King George.

Stuart overcame great odds. Born a colonial, he was remote from the true art centers, but he mixed paints for Alexander and toured the South with him when only fifteen and earned his first trip to Britain. He became a grand gentleman, although his biographer disliked his "propensity" for baiting friends and his "excesses" of gaity of mind or body. He suffered from loneliness, from lack of food in early manhood, and from separation from Benjamin Waterhouse. A slightly withered leg may have increased what the author called a tendency toward self-pity.

At the peak of his London career, Stuart's income was only half that of Romney's or a fifth of Reynolds'. The fancy Burlington Street establishment helped to put him in debt, and in 1787 he slipped away to Dublin. For a few years he had a "virtual monopoly of fashionable portraiture." Again in debt, with Europe at war, he decided to return to America in 1793 with his wife and four children. The last half of the book encompasses his life in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, 1793–1828.

The biography is a work of art, and, while technically attractive to the art historian or artist, it should be welcomed by the general reader.

University of Texas ROBERT CRAWFORD COTNER

THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICANS IN POWER: PARTY OPERATIONS, 1801–1809. By *Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1963. Pp. ix, 318. $7.50.)

THOMAS Jefferson was good. He was a Republican, and he became President in 1801. A lot of bad people thought it would ruin the country if he became President, but it did not. Jefferson kicked the bad people out of the government, but not all of them. He decided to keep a few of them in so the bad people would not be mad at him, and some of them he tried to kick out, but could not. Also it turned out that some of the Republicans, especially two men named John Randolph and Aaron Burr, were bad men, and so Jefferson kicked them out too. The people in New England did not like Jefferson very much, and so Jefferson got a lot of politicians in every town in New England to try to get them to like him, but they still did not like him very much. Some politicians in New York and Pennsylvania tried very hard by themselves to get people to like Jefferson, and some tried to get them to dislike him, and so in those places some liked him and some did not. The people in the South and West already liked Jefferson

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a lot, and no one tried very hard to change their minds. After a while it came time to have a campaign for President again. Jefferson won again, and this time it was easier because more people liked him now. He was good. After a while it came time to have another campaign for President. Jefferson wanted his friend James Madison (who was also good) to be President next. George Clinton and James Monroe also wanted to be President next. They tried hard, but Madison won. That made Madison and Jefferson happy, but it made Clinton and Monroe sad. It did not make any difference, because all these people were Republicans, and they still liked each other. All this time, some people who pretended to be friends of Jefferson and Madison were sneaking around saying that Jefferson and Madison were no good, but it did not make any difference because people liked Jefferson and Madison. Also Jefferson told people he did not write for newspapers, but he was just kidding because he really did, but it did not make any difference because Jefferson was good. After Jefferson quit being President everybody who wanted to be President after that copied the way Jefferson had made people realize he was good.

In dead seriousness: take those several propositions, develop them in that order by stringing together a host of quotations from contemporary letters and newspapers, and you have nine-tenths of the present work.

The other tenth is almost—perhaps quite—enough to justify the publication of the book. In the main it is not a book at all, but notes for a book (extrapolating from actual counts for two of the twelve chapters, some 62,000 of the roughly 108,000 words in the book are direct quotations); yet anyone interested in the period can scarcely afford to ignore it. Professor Cunningham has more understanding of Jefferson as a party politician than does perhaps anyone else alive, and occasionally he gives the reader a glimmer of this understanding. When he does—as, for example, in his brief account of the distribution of patronage to Republican banks, his careful analysis of party techniques in New England, and his exposition of the way Jefferson manipulated newspapers for party purposes and all the while cultivated for posterity an image of the disinterested champion of freedom of the press—the results are brilliant. Had he chosen, or had his editors insisted, Cunningham could have given us an account of Jefferson as politician that would have been as powerful as Leonard Levy's account of Jefferson and civil rights. Unfortunately, he chose instead to publish a collection of documents that illustrate clichés.

Brown University FORREST MCDONALD

THE FIELD NOTES OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK, 1803–1805. Edited with an introduction and notes by *Ernest Staples Osgood*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 5.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xxxv, 335. $20.00.)

IN 1904, when Reuben Gold Thwaites published his scholarly edition of the

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Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, he wrote that "there have at last been located presumably all the literary records now extant, of that notable enterprise in the cause of civilization." But Thwaites was wrong. This volume concludes one of the most dramatic finds in recent United States history: the 1953 discovery, in an attic in St. Paul, Minnesota, of the field notes kept by Captain William Clark between December 13, 1803, and April 3, 1805. There are sixty-seven separate sheets or documents of assorted sizes. The first part of the collection (Documents 1–12) is labeled by Osgood the Dubois Journal, a series of rough daily jottings and other notes made by Clark in the winter of 1803–1804 at the expedition's camp on the Dubois River opposite the mouth of the Missouri. These notes are the only record of this period, filling in the time from the end of the journal which traced the movement down the Ohio to the beginning of the journey up the Missouri in the spring of 1804, which was recorded formally in a series of notebooks by Clark and Lewis.

The second part of the collection (Documents 13–67) consists of rough notes kept by Clark as the expedition ascended the Missouri to the Mandan villages, some sixteen hundred miles up the river from St. Louis. It seems clear that they were the notes from which the somewhat enlarged and more polished account in the notebook journals was composed. Except on a few relatively minor points they add nothing to our knowledge not already gained from the journals edited by Thwaites, but they do put us in even more direct contact with the hour-by-hour progress of the party and treat us to Clark's wonderfully creative spelling in unpolished form.

It is in a sense ironic that these records of the expedition, discovered out of time, should receive such elaborate publication, for in sending them back to President Jefferson, Clark was somewhat embarrassed by their rough, uncorrected condition. The oversize volume that now presents them to the American public is the product of an affluent society. It not only provides a precise transcription of the documents, which follows as closely as is possible in print the idiosyncracies of the originals, but also includes remarkably legible facsimiles of the whole set of documents, so that the reader can enjoy the record just as it came from Clark. In addition there are Osgood's explanatory notes, placed in columns beside the printed texts. The notes are much fuller than those of Thwaites and are long without being tedious; they are by no means the least interesting part of the book. Osgood has relied, of course, on the works of Thwaites, A. P. Nasatir, Donald Jackson, and others, but he writes with an authority and charm of his own. His long introduction is a fascinating account of the history of the field notes. The few typographical errors and slips in the arrangement of the facsimiles hardly detract from the general magnificence of the editor's work and the publisher's presentation.

Marquette University FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

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JAMES HALL: SPOKESMAN OF THE NEW WEST. By *Randolph C. Randall.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 371. $7.50.)

In an atmosphere of increasing interest in intellectual history, the wider professional recognition of James Hall (1793–1868) is to be commended. As an author, lawyer, politician, educationist, and banker, he fits into a variety of categories in the development of the Middle West before the Civil War, but his primary significance, as Professor Randall contends, is in the literary interpretation of the West. Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* mentions Hall only a few times, yet Hall might be said to typify what Smith therein calls "the new calculus of Western energies."

Hall stemmed from an educated Philadelphia family, but early began to look upon any frontiersman as the progenitor of an "unconquerable race." He himself joined that race by moving to Illinois in 1820. Even aboard the keelboat on his way, he wrote elaborate descriptions of the country through which he traveled, including the transcription of local folk songs. Sixteen days after his arrival in Shawneetown he had become editor and half owner of the town's newspaper. Through his editorials he spoke vividly of the needs and accomplishments of the West, worrying often about its economic subservience to the East. Throughout his editorial work, he encouraged the publication of local writings, essays, stories, and poems, support that he later expanded through the founding or editing of such various magazines as the *Illinois Monthly,* the *Illinois Intelligencer,* and the *Western Monthly Review* (the last after Hall's move to Cincinnati). Hall was also responsible for a series of books interpreting western life: *Letters from the West* (1828), *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West* (1834), *Statistics of the West* (1836), and a history of Indian tribes of North America. Literature as an interest and cause was supplemented by his work in education, helping to found schools and colleges and compiling a set of readings for school children called *The Western Reader* (1833). It is not surprising that Randall labels Hall as "a cultural pioneer in a region rich with promise."

As a professor of English, Randall gives much attention to an analysis of the literary merits of Hall's own writings. Randall's conclusions, however, would suggest that Hall's significance will never be in literature but more in American intellectual history, judged by popular expression. Randall presents his biography in clear, forthright, and balanced form with commendable restraint in not claiming for his subject any significance that goes beyond the evidence at hand. But Randall is quite right in wanting to see Hall more widely recognized in historical annals.

University of California, Riverside Robert V. Hine

THE MIND OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Clement Eaton.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 271. $6.00.)

In this book Professor Eaton attempts to trace the development of the southern

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mind from 1820 to 1860 through a study of fifteen men whom he classified as typical of the various segments of thought. The men with their labels are: John Hartwell Cocke, the liberal; James H. Hammond, the aristocratic conservative; Maunsel White, the commercial businessman; Henry A. Wise, the progressive; Cassius M. Clay, the radical; Hinton Rowan Helper, the nonslaveholder; William Barton Rogers and Joseph Le Conte, the scientists; Richard Hugg King, James Henry Thornwell, and Leonidas Polk, religious thinkers and traditionalists; William Gilmore Simms, the romantic; and William Lowndes Yancey, the voice of emotion. Knowing that no one individual could completely represent these broad areas of thought, Eaton brought in numerous figures in supporting roles. For the southern yeomen Eaton chose to analyze the writings of a dozen or more humorists, several of whom were transplanted northerners as were some of his chief representatives in other fields.

Eaton's approach results in a series of biographical sketches, interesting, enlightening, and worth-while in themselves. Some of the men chosen as typical are relatively unknown. Eaton has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of these men by gathering information from manuscript and fugitive published sources. The essays on White, the New Orleans merchant, Cocke, the Virginia planter, and King, the North Carolina evangelist, are especially good.

Based upon Eaton's findings there was little of either liberalism or progressivism in the Old South. The institution of slavery severely hampered those who might have advocated liberal views or progressive action. Furthermore, the agrarian society of the Old South was basically conservative, and of Eaton's fifteen typical leaders thirteen were plantation owners. Eaton also finds that slavery, romanticism, and religion restricted the scientists in their search for truth. But he holds that the agricultural economy was more powerful in restricting advancement than the institution of slavery.

It is surprising to note that the author gave about equal space to Clay and Helper that he gave to the leaders in other areas. Since Clay and Helper represented such a small segment of southern thought, less attention might have been devoted to them.

In the chapter "The Dynamics of the Southern Mind" Eaton notes and seems to lament the passing of the southern country gentleman with his sense of honor, obligation to family, personal pride, hospitality, and attachment to his country. He saw in the changes the victory of the romanticist over the classicist, and of democracy over aristocracy in the era of Jacksonian Democracy. In summary Eaton found the salient characteristics of the South in 1860: an exaggerated sense of honor; a profound religious orthodoxy; an intense attachment or patriotism to local community, state, and region; an extreme conservatism; a spirit of intolerance; and a powerful race feeling.

This is an excellent study, well worth reading, but it has one major weakness: each chapter stands alone, and the book lacks unity.

University of North Carolina FLETCHER M. GREEN

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UNITED STATES DIPLOMACY IN CHINA, 1844–60. By *Te-kong Tong.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 332. $8.50.)

Sino-American relations, 1844–1860, provide slim materials for dramatic historical narrative. Measured even by the isolationist standards of the era, China was peripheral in American policy. Following the signature of the first Sino-American treaty (the Treaty of Wanghsia), the State Department lost touch with events to the extent that trading firms rather than regular departmental channels provided data for diplomatic instructions. Little official attention was given the maintenance of continuity in American representation. Weeks or even months elapsed between the departure from China of an American commissioner and the arrival of his successor. In representing the United States the commissioners themselves, although the product of diverse backgrounds and possessed of little diplomatic experience, were permitted broad discretion. The matters with which they were concerned were mostly humdrum trade and the protection of a handful of missionaries. Yet, if these ingredients lacked drama, they served nevertheless to shape the principles upon which American Far Eastern policy for a century was to rest. Studies of this era derive importance from what they reveal about the foundations of American policy.

Prior to the appearance of Professor Tong's volume, these foundations had been studied only piecemeal. For example, Tyler Dennett's classic volume, *Americans in Eastern Asia,* while suggesting major themes in American diplomacy, covered the years 1844–1860 episodically and was based almost exclusively on American sources. American diplomacy was placed more fully in the context of European and Chinese activity by John K. Fairbank's *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast, 1842–1854,* but this pioneering work stopped short of the treaty settlement of 1860 which closed the initial phase of American policy. Earl Swisher's *China's Management of the American Barbarians* provided new sources for study rather than a finished narrative. Thus, while Tong cannot claim to be first in this field, he may boast of the only narrative connecting the first and second treaty settlements that also derives from a meticulous examination of a broad array of American and Chinese sources.

The author finds that the Chinese policy aimed at controlling the barbarians vacillated between firmness and appeasement, while on the American side there were shifts springing from the discretion permitted to the commissioners. Official Washington, scarcely according perfunctory attention to Chinese affairs, could not be said to have had a China policy much before 1853. Even the movement to revise the Treaty of Wanghsia was initiated in China by Commissioner Peter Parker. Yet, in spite of the absence of central direction and lack of continuity in representation, American policy soon came to be based on the principles of equal commercial opportunity for all doing business in China and the maintenance of China's territorial integrity. Beginning with the Buchanan administration, these principles appeared regularly in the text of policy statements. From such findings Tong concludes that the fundamentals of American

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Far Eastern policy were the product of neither theory nor morality but of pragmatic appraisals by men on the scene.

North Carolina State University BURTON F. BEERS

THE GATHERING OF ZION: THE STORY OF THE MORMON TRAIL. By *Wallace Stegner*. [The American Trails Series.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964. Pp. 331. $6.95.)

THIS well-written monograph deals with the Mormon Trail which stretched westward four hundred miles from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Winter Quarters (Florence, Nebraska) and then continued for an additional thousand miles to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The story of this celebrated highway is an adventure of epic size, begun in religious bloodshed and carried out against discouragement, disease, and tragic death. The Mormon pioneers who traversed it in 1846–1847 were inaugurating a movement distinguished from all others by its discipline, order, and group solidarity. The exiles hoped to found a new home in the West, rid themselves of determined enemies, and establish a religious commonwealth in order to worship their God unmolested and build up His kingdom on earth. The Mormon migration was not a voluntary hegira. Forced necessity, even survival, compelled them to evacuate their beautiful city of Nauvoo. What was new about the Mormon migration was its inclusion of a whole people.

Under ordinary conditions the journey of the first season (1846) from the Mississippi to the Missouri could have been accomplished without extreme hardship, but the pioneers had left in haste and were inadequately supplied with necessities. For many, the cold was intense, their stock of food proved inadequate, and eventually the deadly cholera germs had to be combated. The need to blaze a new wagon trail was complicated when thawing made the clay country almost impassable.

The two major encampments in Iowa were Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah. At these places, farms of several thousand acres were enclosed and planted, and both became permanent settlements. On June 14, 1846, Council Bluffs on the Missouri was reached, and across the river, nine miles north of the present Omaha, Nebraska, temporary headquarters (Winter Quarters), was established. During the fall and winter of 1846, there were considerable sickness and many deaths in the Missouri camps, where continued want and hardship rendered the Mormon exiles peculiarly susceptible.

The story of the Mormon Trail does not end with the completion of the first migration to Utah in July 1847. Such important events as the California gold rush, the Utah War (1858), the overland mail, pony express, Black Hawk War, the inauguration of the great spiritual awakening known as the "Gathering," the tragic story of the "handcart experiment" (1856), and the building of the transcontinental railroad (1869) are recorded and noted briefly by the author.

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Like his *Mormon Country* and *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian, The Gathering of Zion* is a masterpiece of literary preparation. The style is lucid, straightforward, and clear. There are an appropriate index, preface, introduction, and an adequate though incomplete bibliography (especially lacking in Mormon sources). Also appended are thirteen well-chosen illustrations which add to the general excellence of the volume. Unfortunately no new factual information is advanced by the author. Stegner's contribution lies in his new approach to the Mormon problem: his emphasis upon the humanistic rather than the purely scientific interpretation of historical facts.

University of Utah L. H. Creer

REFUGEE LIFE IN THE CONFEDERACY. By *Mary Elizabeth Massey.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 327. $8.00.)

In the preface to this monograph Professor Massey explains that her original concept of refugees included "all groups uprooted by the war—Confederate and Union sympathizers, Negroes, Indians, and whites, and those who left the South as well as those who tried to remain within Confederate lines," but that she soon discovered this would necessitate "a multivolumed study" and therefore decided to concentrate upon "the Confederate sympathizers who spent the war years trying to stay within the contracting Confederacy. All other displaced people," she writes, "are brought into the story only when they touch Confederate refugees in some way."

Within this self-imposed limitation the author has made a contribution to the social history of the wartime South comparable to her previous monograph, *Ersatz in the Confederacy.* Her thoroughly researched and well-documented study of the refugees describes their troubles from their first abandonment of home to the eventual return that some managed to achieve. It tells why they decided to flee the Union armies, who they were, where they went (to urban areas, as first preference), and how they struggled against the numerous hardships and vexations that beset them. It shows how they suffered from the military policies of both Union and Confederate commanders and how the Richmond authorities let them shift for themselves with no help from the central government. Massey cites evidence that President Davis was "especially indifferent to their plight." She also presents an eyewitness who believed that when Davis himself became a refugee he was captured "because Mrs. Davis had insisted on taking such a tremendous quantity of baggage."

Though one can understand the author's research difficulties, he feels that the narrow focus of the book upon white Confederate sympathizers conveys at times a feeling of unreality. Negro slaves, for example, seem dehumanized when glimpsed through the writings of owners who viewed them merely as burdensome property. There is little if any suggestion that slaves traveling with refugee masters must have suffered too.

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Another subject that might call for fuller treatment is the numbers of the refugees. Massey repeatedly mentions "tens of thousands" without attempting to go beyond this rather vague phrase. One could wish for more analysis, even though it be largely an explanation of the impossibility of arriving at more precise numbers.

Women and war is a main theme of this interesting book. Many of the women refugees wielded sharp pens, and Massey has made good use of their writings, including the diaries of Kate Stone and Judith McGuire and the recollections of Elizabeth Meriwether. Considered en masse, the women in her pages are neither wise nor foolish, good nor bad, but a very human mixture. Her straightforward account of their clashes with Union generals, landlords, profiteers, relatives, and husbands ought to destroy forever the stereotype of the selfless Confederate heroine.

University of California, Riverside HAL BRIDGES

THE GREENBACK ERA: A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICAN FINANCE, 1865–1879. By *Irwin Unger*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. 467. $10.00.)

PROFESSOR Unger describes this book as "primarily a political, not a financial history, . . . fixed to a skeleton of financial events," but "largely concerned with the decision-making process in American society." Rejecting the position that "the governing forces in America after 1865 were economic," he argues that "implanted values and controls" must be considered as well. Historians will find this book as essential to their understanding of the monetary problems of the Reconstruction era as the works of Beard, Destler, Sharkey, Mitchell, and Friedman and Schwartz.

There was, according to the author, a hard and a soft money interest. Ranged against the "older elite of eastern merchants, commercial bankers, textile manufacturers, professional men, gentlemen reformers, and respectable literati" in the hard money camp were various manufacturers, particularly the ironmasters, promoters, business speculators, and both labor and agrarian elements. Hard money theory was rooted in classical economics and expressed by business leaders like Edward Atkinson as well as by members of the academic community and religious leaders who added a moral dimension to the dialogue. Henry C. Carey and his disciples prepared the ground for soft money doctrines in some industrial groups, but the soft money interest was particularly indebted to Alexander Campbell. Building on the theories of Edward Kellogg, Campbell formulated the idea of the interconvertible bond to ensure reasonable interest rates and an elastic currency. This device particularly attracted support in areas of working-class and rural discontent. Among the politicians, Secretary of the Treasury McCulloch compromised hard money arguments by linking resumption to the burning of "the people's money"; President Grant shook his party to its foundations when

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he vetoed the inflation bill of 1874, but Sherman, "the supple master of accommodation," effected resumption "where men more righteous, perhaps, had failed."

Unger has industriously searched manuscript collections, newspapers, the business, agricultural, and religious press, and a great body of government documents and secondary materials. From the book the reader derives a strong sense of the complexities of American business, society, and the legislative process; the author's effort to integrate social and cultural factors in his analysis is one of the book's great merits. Unger also presents reinterpretations and new insights, as for example in his argument that Campbell deserves major credit for originating the idea of the interconvertible bond rather than Kellogg, in his description of the Resumption Act of 1875 as a compromise designed primarily to reunite the Republican party on monetary policy, and in his suggestion that the monetary debate of these years had its anti-Semitic aspects.

This is a good book, but the reader may conclude that some of its numerous "debates with historians" are unimportant or inadequately argued. Some may differ with Unger's interpretation of the significance of the hard money moralizing in religious periodicals, and others perhaps would have preferred a more rigorous analysis of election returns and congressional roll calls. Surely also, our professional publications hardly support Unger's final suggestion that "we have all supposed" hitherto that the Civil War was "the momentous turning point" in American development.

University of Wisconsin ALLAN G. BOGUE

THE MOLLY MAGUIRES. By *Wayne G. Broehl, Jr.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 409. $8.95.)

THIS latest and best retelling of a classic detective story incorporates new evidence, detective James McParlan's field reports, from the files of the Reading Railroad and the Pinkerton Agency. Since McParlan's dispatches of 1873–1876 corroborate his testimony at the trials of the Mollies in 1876–1877, Professor Broehl's account is distinguished more for the certainty than for the novelty of its conclusions. A conspiracy to avenge grievances did exist in the Schuylkill anthracite region among certain members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. It had no connection with the mineworkers' union of the time. McParlan was pure detective and no *agent provocateur,* though occasionally unable to forewarn victims. Allan Pinkerton's responsibility for the dreadful vigilantism at Wiggan's Patch is as sure as circumstantial evidence (already known) can make it. The motives of President Franklin B. Gowen of the Reading in hiring McParlan and prosecuting the Mollies remain cloudy; unfortunately his correspondence is still not available.

Broehl has also explored the background of secret societies in Ireland to some profit. But when he comes to questions of the larger significance of the Mollies in the life of the coal regions, he relies excessively on secondary accounts, most

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of them inferior to his own. He does not know the territory and its history quite as well as McParlan's tracks through it. His skillful, indeed gripping reconstruction of the Molly cases—or rather of the five that McParlan himself investigated—fails to establish their broad significance for either labor relations or ethnic relations. Irish laborers sometimes shot English, Welsh, or Irish miners and foremen—or Welsh toughs or "Dutch" constables or chief burgesses—in the Lehigh and Wyoming-Lackawanna regions as in Schuylkill, but no conspiracy was ever seriously alleged there. Even the AOH remains shadowy: the "Shenandoah lodge" that McParlan joined in 1874 is represented as consisting of only five members, yet Shenandoah was a major town in a district where the order could parade a thousand men on St. Patrick's Day. Furthermore, the grievances that McParlan's four or five dozen Mollies avenged were simply their own, not those of members of a larger order. We perhaps shall never know, in spite of the efforts of Broehl and others who will inevitably try again, whether the Molly Maguires were anything more than a few pistol packing Irish loafers and brawlers overwhelmed by an untypically vigorous prosecution.

Washington University ROWLAND BERTHOFF

PROGRESSIVISM IN OHIO, 1897–1917. By *Hoyt Landon Warner.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. 1964. Pp. xiii, 556. $10.00.)

THIS comprehensive study of Ohio progressivism, a work long needed by scholars of the period, commands admiration. The massive amount of research upon which it is based shows through almost every page and innumerable and enlightening footnotes. Unless more of the scant papers of Samuel Jones and Tom Loftin Johnson appear, it is highly unlikely that a more detailed study will soon be made of the early Toledo and Cleveland reform movements. Professor Warner's round-by-round account of the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1911 is equally thorough. And though lacking the personal papers of Governors Judson Harmon and James M. Cox, the author has given the same minute treatment to state-wide reform culminating in the 1912–1914 Cox administration. Throughout the volume it is obvious that the author has an impressive command of the intricacies of Ohio local politics as well as a passion for detail that sometimes is overintrusive.

Missing from the volume is much reference to the personal papers of the moderate and conservative leaders in the state, a deficiency that perhaps is most revealed in the tendency to take the reformers at their own evaluation. Admittedly such manuscript sources are hard to come by. But the well-winnowed Foraker papers in Cincinnati and Washington, and especially the William Howard Taft manuscripts, might have supplied a corrective to a possible bias.

In his preface Warner states that he intends to test the relevance of the "status revolution" concept to the rise of progressivism in Ohio. One might have

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wished that he had more fully carried out the test. From the evidence supplied, at least to me, ambition and perhaps a sense of social guilt were more important in the personal motivation of such men as Jones and Johnson than any feelings about their social status. One also might have wished for longer inquiries into the obvious urban tilt of Ohio progressivism and the reasons why the state, after such an early and promising reform start, failed to produce any significant new ideas on progressivism or to contribute any top progressive leaders to either branch of Congress, failures that gave to Ohio's politics an ambiguous quality that perhaps needs further explanation. The results of such inquiries would of course be arguable. Beyond debate is the fact that the author has made a solid and most valuable contribution to the literature of progressivism.

University of California, Los Angeles GEORGE E. MOWRY

THE HOLMES-EINSTEIN LETTERS: CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. JUSTICE HOLMES AND LEWIS EINSTEIN 1903–1935. Edited by *James Bishop Peabody*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. xxvi, 377. $12.50.)

THIS series of letters in part parallels chronologically and in other respects the two-volume Holmes-Pollock letters and Holmes-Laski letters already published. It differs from the other series in that Einstein, while a career diplomat, had no such knowledge of or interest in law as Pollock or interest in theories of government and social organization as Laski, so that legal discussion plays a lesser part. It differs also in that, whereas Holmes seems to have preserved carefully all letters from Pollock and Laski, only scattered items from Einstein were preserved down to Holmes's final years when the aged justice no longer took the trouble to sift his incoming mail. The result is that in this volume there are 207 Holmes letters and only 56 from Einstein. The discarding of the mass of the Einstein letters may have been provoked by the desire to protect the privacy of a friend writing freely from within the diplomatic service, or it may have been deemed appropriate in that, in this series, both writers seem to have revealed their inner and deeply personal feelings more completely than was generally true in the correspondence involving Pollock and Laski.

In any event, this correspondence, as any correspondence in which Holmes would have deigned to engage, is rich, sparkling, and thought provoking. It is more relaxed and has more of a touch of Rabelais than do most of his more formal letters. It proceeds in terms of an enormous amount of nonlegal reading, including history, biography, philosophy, and art. Always to the fore is a vigorous and speculative skepticism, which Holmes regarded as a sounder basis for philosophy and perhaps even for religion than the prevailing dogmas of the time. He doubted the extent to which the universe might be deemed rational, and he questioned the ultimate importance of personality. In terms of ultimate meanings he wondered whether it would make any great difference if the whole of mankind were "kerosened." Yet he found for himself deep and rewarding

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benefits in all normal processes of human functioning, particularly the functioning of the mind. Taken out of context and compared with others, many of his literary gems are inconsistent one with another, but they have, nevertheless, a kind of consistency in terms of the man as a whole. It is as if he found it necessary to leap into sharply disciplined phrasing in order to capture those flashes of insight that made up his intellectual world. Like the other series of his letters, this volume will be deeply rewarding to those intrigued either by his literary gems or by his philosophy.

Johns Hopkins University CARL BRENT SWISHER

THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN: THE RHODE ISLAND YEARS, 1906–1936. By *Erwin L. Levine*. [Brown University Bicentennial Publications, Studies in the Fields of General Scholarship.] (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 222. $5.00.)

THEODORE Francis Green, born in 1867, has had an exceptionally long and interesting career. A lawyer, a Brown University faculty member, a business leader, governor of Rhode Island during the critical depression years, and United States Senator from 1937 to 1961, Green is well worth detailed study. Erwin L. Levine has carefully investigated one segment of Green's life: the thirty years from his entrance into politics in 1906 to his election to the United States Senate in 1936. He has had free access to Green's private papers and has interviewed Green himself, Edward J. Higgins, Green's administrative assistant and confidant for more than thirty years, Judge Robert E. Quinn, and many other participants in the political struggles recounted. The result is a fascinating insight into the political life of Rhode Island and the evolution of the present-day Democratic party.

Green is depicted as "a patrician who entered politics out of a sense of responsibility inherent in his own family tradition and culture," for among his ancestors were a governor, two senators, and a congressman. His personal hero was Thomas Wilson Dorr, leader of the 1842 rebellion seeking to democratize the suffrage and reapportion the Rhode Island legislature. Green saw himself, like Dorr, striving to "better the conditions of those less fortunate than himself" and to end the corruption and misrule that characterized Rhode Island under the domination of Boss Charles R. Brayton and the Republican party in the first years of the century.

Elected to the General Assembly in 1906, Green became secretary of the House Democratic Steering Committee. Despite a series of unsuccessful bids for election to Congress and the governorship between 1910 and 1930, Green became one of the key strategists in the Democratic party in Rhode Island. In 1932 the same tide that swept Franklin D. Roosevelt into office finally carried Green into the gubernatorial chair.

Governor Green during his two terms achieved a major shift in power from

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the legislative to the executive branch, made himself, as governor, the real leader of the party, reorganized the state administration to make it more efficient and less subject to local political pressures, and led the people in a time of crisis. Most dramatic were the events of January 1, 1935, carefully planned in secret by Green and a small cabal of Democratic leaders, by which Republican control of the state Senate and Supreme Court were finally terminated, clearing the way for the reforms sought by the Democrats. His success as governor in mobilizing the state's resources and in utilizing federal aid to meet the depression, as well as his skill as a neutral leader of the non-Yankee ethnic groups fighting for political status, enabled him to win nomination and election to the United States Senate in 1936.

Green is very much the hero of this study. His motives are always pure and unselfish, his skill in the formulation and execution of political strategy unsurpassed, his effectiveness as an orator acclaimed by all. Perhaps so, but possibly more extensive interviews with Republican or dissident Democratic participants in these events would have made Green seem somewhat less perfect and more human. Further studies may also reveal more fully the part played by J. Howard McGrath. Levine acknowledges that he masterminded many of the Democratic moves in 1934, but goes no further. Others, too, may well deserve more recognition. In short, this study tells a fascinating story well, provides much more detailed knowledge of the growth of the Democratic party and of Rhode Island politics during the span covered than heretofore available, but leaves the reader wondering if an impartial balance has been struck and opens up many questions for further study.

University of Rhode Island WILLIAM D. METZ

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF NEW DEAL DIPLOMACY. By *Lloyd C. Gardner*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 409. $7.50.)

THIS provocative book contends that American foreign policies under Franklin D. Roosevelt and Cordell Hull did not represent a sharp break with the past, that they continued long-term trends. In particular, Professor Gardner believes that economic influences during the New Deal encouraged continued American involvement and expansion abroad. He acknowledges the importance of non-economic forces, but contends that economic influences played a large role. Exactly how large (relative to security, ideology, and politics) he does not weigh explicitly.

The book shows the influence of the scholars under whom Gardner studied at the University of Wisconsin: President Fred Harvey Harrington and Professor William Appleman Williams. Like most who studied under Harrington (including both Williams and me), Gardner emphasizes the close relation between domestic affairs and foreign affairs, the continuity of expansion in the history of American foreign affairs, and the importance of economic bases for that

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expansion. Gardner, however, lack's Harrington's talent for clarity of organization and expression, and he does not include any systematic analysis of group interests and attitudes. One can also see the influence of the more doctrinaire themes developed by Williams, including "The Legend of Isolationism," "Open Door Imperialism," and others. Gardner's writing style is also similar. In effect, he has tested or applied the ideas of his mentors in his analysis of foreign policies in the New Deal era. He has based his account on impressive research in printed and manuscript sources and in many secondary accounts.

Gardner quite correctly sees the "self-containment" phase of New Deal foreign policies as brief, incomplete, and transitory, "a momentary pause." Nevertheless, by focusing almost exclusively on those economic attitudes that encouraged expansion, and by ignoring or sharply minimizing the economic attitudes re-enforcing "isolationism" or "self-containment," he creates a skewed picture. Economic thought may have provided part of the explanation for reciprocal trade agreements, the Good Neighbor policy, naval armaments, repeal of the arms embargo, lend-lease, and the like, but they also helped explain America's role in the London Economic Conference, the neutrality laws, and "isolationism." Individual chapters vary widely in quality, and those dealing with "First New Deal" foreign policies, neutrality legislation, and aid short of war in the years before Pearl Harbor are least adequate. Many of the topics are covered more fully (even the economic aspects) in books and articles by others. For example, though Robert A. Divine's book on neutrality legislation does not particularly emphasize economic influences, it includes more on that aspect than Gardner does. Some episodes with conspicuous economic content (particularly before Pearl Harbor) are treated very briefly; the heavily economic Nye munitions investigation is scarcely mentioned. The section on adoption of lend-lease includes only four paragraphs directly on that subject, and those contain little about economic aspects. By neglecting to make a systematic analysis of group interests and attitudes, Gardner implies a greater consensus than may have prevailed, especially in the 1930's.

This book, nevertheless, provides a helpful introduction to the approach. Several of the chapters are excellent, including those on Latin America and on wartime Anglo-American relations. The book is, furthermore, a useful counterbalance for "official" accounts that emphasize security and ideological influences, and for "revisionist" analyses that stress political motives and Roosevelt's personal villainy.

Iowa State University WAYNE S. COLE

REXFORD TUGWELL AND THE NEW DEAL. By *Bernard Sternsher.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 535. $9.00.)

I MUST confess some "bias." Dr. Tugwell, whom I first met in 1924 and worked closely with for a number of years during the decade and a half following, has

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always seemed to me a "model" for intellectual integrity devoted to great practical purposes. And it is high time that his mighty contributions to economic thinking, public policy, and the concept of the proper role of the adviser to a President be rescued from unpardonable neglect relative to their significance.

Dr. Sternsher performs this task exceedingly well. He does not display the brilliant writing and unerring sense of proportion of Arthur Schlesinger's *The Age of Roosevelt,* nor the profound reflectiveness of Tugwell's *The Democratic Roosevelt,* and he cannot draw upon the personal experiences that enter into Frances Perkins' *The Roosevelt I Knew.* But his book is an extraordinarily complete compilation of what Tugwell said and did, how others reacted, and where he "triumphed" and "failed," accompanied by much thoughtful, and in my view generally valid, interpretation. As such, the book exhibits both the merits and defects of some similar works. There is unnecessary repetition; one often wishes that it were much shorter. But anyone who reads it from beginning to end will learn much of value that he could not possibly have known before, and be stimulated to much useful reflection. For those wanting to enlarge their understanding of the New Deal, the book is a "must."

As one who worked within the government throughout the Roosevelt years and much longer, I find no reason to question Sternsher on any factual grounds. I do question his acceptance of the viewpoint, earlier expressed by Schlesinger and others, that there was a sharp and clear shift, about 1935, from a First to a Second New Deal, the first marked by emphasis upon a planned or managed economy, and the second by emphasis upon a mixed economy, with Tugwell the archexponent of the former. Tugwell did not represent the common conception of a "planned" economy, and everyone in the New Deal accepted the concept of a "mixed" economy, based upon implementation of the responsibilities of both free enterprise and free government. To be sure, there were some (including Tugwell) who leaned far more toward "planning" than others, but individuals and policies representing both approaches persisted throughout the New Deal. And at no time during the New Deal was there the consistency of policies, nor even a center of gravity of policies, that would justify description as much of a "school." I think that the real change, in about 1935, was a shift in political approach from the strategy of the "unity" theme to the strategy of attack upon certain groups, small in number though wielding great economic power. I also think that the second strategy, while leading to a thumping popular victory in 1936, was not otherwise very fruitful, was substantially misguided in programmatic recommendations, and represented some exhaustion of energies and ideas.

Tugwell's economic thinking and lines of endeavor while in the government, admirably portrayed in Sternsher's book, converged generally upon these propositions: that the fundamental determinant of the performance of the US economy was how income was distributed, and that a more progressive distribution was desirable also on human grounds; that income measures were consequently at the heart of improved allocation and fuller use of resources; that government

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action toward these ends, while urgently needed, would fall short unless the whole behavior pattern in the private sector were modified, with respect to prices and wages, profits and investment, and even some ultimate values; and that no effort on any one of these fronts could be very successful, unless guided constantly by the rationalization process of viewing the economy as a whole and reconciling each set of quantifications, objectives, and policies with others. He sought one unifying purpose, not mere patchwork. The New Deal fell far short of this, although its stress upon human needs and the role of government, translated into so many programs, most of them good, has been of enduring value. And I deplore the tendency of some economists in government in recent years to regard as passé the things for which Tugwell stood and fought, and to regard merely *ad hoc* and segmental measures as more "pragmatic." Tugwell was very pragmatic, very experimental, but he tried always to apply the scientific method, with all "experiments" subject to stern and demanding criteria. In recent years—it is too early to comment upon the Johnson administration—some influential economists in government have lacked the willingness or courage to face up to the problem of income distribution, to admit the inseparability of economic and social objectives in a country as richly endowed as ours, or to develop that more complete perspective and integration which our economic tools and available data today make so much more feasible than thirty years ago. There is no room here to discuss in detail just how well we are doing now, with the true level of unemployment above 8 per cent (including the full-time equivalent of part-time employment, and the concealed unemployment resulting from scarcity of job opportunity).

Equally significant for today was Tugwell's emphasis upon sticking to one's guns. An adviser to a President, of course, should steer between the extreme of trying to go it alone, of self-gratifying obstinacy, and the extreme of absolute acquiescence in all that is going on, and even attempts to defend everything being done. I have no sympathy for those economists who claim that they should become "politicians" when they serve as helpers to a President; he does not need much help from them in that area, but does need it in others. As Sternsher makes clear, Tugwell was loyal to the President, but not servile; he spoke out at times, and remained quiet at other times; he did not always say all he believed, but he almost always believed what he said and seldom feared to say it. These are great and useful values. A fair reading of Sternsher's massive evidence seems to me to make it indisputable that Tugwell had a large and permanent influence upon many policies and programs; that he helped greatly to propel FDR along some of the most rewarding avenues traveled; and that he accomplished much more than others who have confused practicality with maintaining their own positions and comfort. He was "forced" out at the end, and no one knows all the reasons why. But this was neither a major national calamity nor an important criterion in appraising the degree of his usefulness while he lasted; and he never winced aloud.

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Nor do I believe, like some of Tugwell's critics, that some of his personal characteristics made him "less effective" in any large sense. I am not entirely positive that Sternsher strikes just the right balance on this, although he does as well as might be expected of one who was not there. My own experiences with Tugwell may make a contribution. He was not given to the little niceties, and at times displayed some insensitivity to the reactions of those with whom he was dealing, but fundamentally he was discerning and warm. Visiting me at my home in Washington a few years ago, when we had not met for more than a decade, he asked me none of the usual questions about what I had been doing, or how much money I was making or not making, or who my clients or associates were, but at the end of the evening, he said that he was "glad that I had not lost my capacity for moral indignation." He added ruefully that he had lost his, but this, although sincerely stated, was not really true. Thus, I do not believe that any of his personal traits interfered appreciably with his effectiveness in the public service, although obviously anyone could accomplish more if he had all possible virtues. And Tugwell would be more highly evaluated by all, but for the unfair criticisms of some who do not recognize that the price of certain virtues is usually other shortcomings.

Sternsher's conclusions seem to me consistent in the main with my own evaluations. His book has increased even my understanding of a remarkable man, whose contributions to perhaps the greatest evolution in our domestic public policies during our history should be much more widely appreciated. I hope this occurs during Tugwell's lifetime; at long last, it is certain to occur.

Washington, D. C. LEON H. KEYSERLING

DULLES OVER SUEZ: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HIS DIPLOMACY. By *Herbert Finer*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1964. Pp. xix, 538, xiv. $7.50.)

THE twenty-second book by a distinguished political scientist, *Dulles over Suez* is a massive work, a combination of narrative, quotation, and judgment, all dedicated to proving that the late Secretary of State botched the Suez crisis of 1956. The book begins with Dulles' refusal of the loan to Egypt for a higher Aswan Dam and follows the diplomacy of the great and small powers, in and out of the United Nations, until (to use the chapter titles) "The United Nations Fails," "Collusion Brings a Hot War," "Dulles Impeaches His Allies," and "Dulles Yields to Russia." The author bases his book on interviews of thirty or more men who were close to the diplomacy of the time and relies to a lesser extent on published documents and secondary works.

This book, one must say, misses its mark and may well confuse the historical record. Its most questionable aspect is the personal interviews, which appear sometimes in such seductive fashion that the reader knows hardly what to believe: "I can report, on evidence from one of the most honorable diplomats in

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international politics since 1945—and he is *not* American or European" The author's malice toward the late Secretary of State shines through the interminable pages. He pokes fun at the Secretary down on his knees praying in St. Paul's and hints that Dulles was a hypocrite. The prose slips into old-maidish chiding—exclamation marks, capital letters, italics. There is much high school logic, such as the following: "Defenders of Dulles retort that 'the withdrawal of the loan was not the underlying *cause* of the seizure: it only *triggered* it!' As though a trigger were not a cause!"

As for the larger arguments of the book, it is easy to agree with Dulles' critics that Suez was not the Secretary's finest hour, to agree with Sir Anthony Eden that the British "had been strung along over many months of negotiation, from pretext to pretext, from device to device, and from contrivance to contrivance," without accepting the author's judgment that Dulles was Machiavellian. Moreover, Suez raised the threat of atomic war, as Finer remarks almost parenthetically in his last few pages; Dulles can be excused for trying to avoid such a war. The author thinks Dulles should have moved ahead with the loan for the higher dam to ensure against seizure of the canal (at the end of the book he says Dulles lacked courage; he nonetheless approves of the Secretary's accepting a piece of blackmail like this). He believes Dulles should have traveled to Cairo to treat with Colonel Nasser, rather than sending Robert Menzies, although it is difficult to see why Dulles should have gone. The book is pro-Israeli to a fault, ignoring the terribly disruptive effect of Israel's independence in the Middle East. Israel, he writes, was fighting for survival in 1956. Is it not obvious, rather, that the Israelis took advantage of the moment to set the Egyptians back on their heels, that no Middle Eastern Armageddon for Arabs and Israelis was imminent at that time? When Dulles faced Ben-Gurion's defiance for weeks on end after the crisis had passed, and sought to discipline the Israelis, Finer agrees with Senator William Knowland who remarked that it was unfair to discipline Israel for aggression against Egypt without disciplining Russia for aggression against Hungary.

The controversy over Suez, if there still is one after all these years when tempers have cooled, must await a more judicious volume.

Indiana University ROBERT H. FERRELL

DOCUMENTS ON DISARMAMENT, 1962. Volume I, JANUARY–JUNE; Volume II, JULY–DECEMBER. [United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Publication 19.] (Washington, D. C.: the Agency; distrib. by Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1963. Pp. xxiii, 631; xxiii, 633–1363. $3.75 the set.)

A CONTINUATION of the series begun by the Department of State in 1960, this publication of documents by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is a welcome and useful contribution to current historical study. The

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year 1962 was so productive in documentation that this compilation is printed in two volumes.

The largest share of space is given to negotiations of the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva, including the presentation in March 1962 of the updated "Rapacki Plan" for a denuclearized and limited armaments zone in Europe and the proposed Declaration against War Propaganda of May 25 presented in the committee of the whole. Over eighty items presented in plenary meetings of the committee are included, most of them drafts, amendments, statements, and study papers relating to the United States Outline of Provisions of a Basic Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World, and the Soviet Draft Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament under Strict International Control.

In a way this is another study in frustration, but it is also a study in patience and effort rewarded now and then by some slight, hesitating step toward compromise and agreement. Based upon President Kennedy's address before the United Nations General Assembly in 1961, the US treaty outline proposed reductions in all major armaments, including nuclear delivery vehicles, by one-third in each of three stages. It was suggested that the first and second stages be completed in three years each, and the third stage as soon thereafter as practicable. Inspection and verification, not only of arms destroyed, but also of arms retained, would be required at each stage.

The Soviet draft treaty also envisaged three stages, but on a different basis. It called for complete elimination of nuclear delivery vehicles during the first stage and of nuclear weapons themselves in the second stage. It also called for abolition of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from abroad. There was wide divergence on proposals for inspection and verification. Yet the Soviet Union did make significant if small concessions at several points so that even in failure delegates could hope for some measure of agreement in the future.

Of most immediate interest are the background negotiations to the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty. The publication also includes papers presented in the United Nations General Assembly and before various UN councils and committees and a variety of other statements on disarmament.

One can never know at the time of publication how suitable a selection of documents for publication has been, but there is no doubt about the usefulness of those included here, and the annotation by Robert W. Lambert has been well done. The documents are printed in chronological order, but the usefulness of the compilation has been heightened by the inclusion of a listing of the documents by topic and by a good index. A bibliography of other documentary publications on the subject and a list of persons provide further aids.

Purdue University JAMES A. HUSTON

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CORTÉS: THE LIFE OF THE CONQUEROR BY HIS SECRETARY. By *Francisco López de Gómara.* Translated and edited by *Lesley Byrd Simpson.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. xxvi, 425. $8.50.)

THE fame of Gómara and his history has been somewhat dimmed by the articulate enemies of Cortes. The Indian defender Bartolomé de Las Casas denounced the work as the whitewashing of a cruel conquistador, and the foot soldier Bernal Díaz del Castillo wrote his own famous *True History* because he felt the leader had been given too much glory and his followers too little.

Rereading the story in Professor Simpson's elegant translation, one is struck not only by the author's harmonious and consciously noble style, but also by the large amount of information he provides on the lieutenants of Cortes and the royal administrators at work during the dramatic years of the conquest of Mexico. Though Gómara does not tell all—such data as France Scholes is now collecting on Cortes the businessman is not included—the valiant and wily captain who took over Montezuma's empire with a handful of Spaniards is not given an exclusively adulatory treatment. We see at least some of his warts. Cortes emerges triumphant, of course, from most of his almost incredible adventures but, as the perceptive introduction points out, Gómara portrays him as "intriguing, lying, cajoling, bullying, and threatening . . . his policy toward the Indians is an astonishing blend of ferocity, flattery, double-dealing, and magnanimity."

On the Indians themselves, Gómara gives much varied detail. We see them building the great ditch to enable Cortes to launch his brigantines: "it took fifty days to complete, and on each of the fifty days some four hundred thousand men of Texcoco and territory worked upon it." The excesses of both their Indian allies and their enemies shocked the Spaniards. On one occasion the garments and weapons of some of their companions were found hanging on the temples of a deserted town "and their faces, flayed and tanned and still wearing their beards, fastened to the walls, a mournful sight." But Gómara can wonder, too, at the skill of Indian craftsmen who made the wood and silver blowguns Montezuma presented to Cortes, "some of them decorated with various kinds of birds, animals, roses, flowers and trees, all done so perfectly and in such minute detail and with such workmanship that they delighted the eye."

Renaissance Spaniards also delighted in the natural wonders of the New World. Gómara includes considerable information on the animals, plants, and fruits of Mexico, and lightens his narrative with amusing anecdotes as a relief from the military aspects of the history. Experienced Spaniards avoided the fruit called tuna, he explains, because it stained their hands and clothing and turned "the urine as red as pure blood. Many Spaniards, new to the country, have been dismayed upon eating these red *tunas,* thinking they were losing all their blood in their urine—which caused great hilarity among their companions."

Why were the classic letters Cortes sent to Emperor Charles V kept from

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circulation after they were first published in 1527, and above all why was this first general history of Mexico, written at the behest of the conqueror and paid for by his son Martín, proscribed by Philip II both in 1553 when it was first printed and again in 1566? The usual explanation has been the hostility of Las Casas, as was the case with Oviedo's history. Marcel Bataillon has suggested as a more likely reason the crown's fear of the power of Cortes and his son as possible threats to royal rule in America (see "Hernán Cortés, autor prohibido," *Libro jubilar de Alfonso Reyes* [1956], 77–82).

The volume is attractively illustrated with plates reproduced from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* and constitutes one more of the many valuable contributions to Latin American studies by Simpson and the University of California Press.

Columbia University LEWIS HANKE

PUERTO RICO: FREEDOM AND POWER IN THE CARIBBEAN. By *Gordon K. Lewis.* (New York: MR Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 626. $10.00.)

PUERTO Rico's second discovery in the early 1950's has produced a mountain of books and essays, most of which blend reluctant empire apologetics with investment hungry boosterism. Happily, Gordon Lewis' study, by far the best general survey of Puerto Rico ever written, is not in the hortatory school. The author, a Welshman now living and teaching in Puerto Rico, is a skillful, often brilliant writer whose many-faceted analysis of Puerto Rico is always stimulating and probing, even when his conclusions are not so convincing as he might wish.

While most of the book examines Puerto Rico in our time, and perhaps beyond, fully a quarter of the text concerns the island's history. Lewis identifies his bias early, makes no apologies for it, and in the main makes the most of it, especially in the opening historical section. He interprets Puerto Rican and Caribbean history through a socialist, anti-imperialist viewpoint, but he never descends to ideological diatribe against the *yanqui* oppression. His restraint and his refusal to damn everything undertaken by the United States prove his greatest assets. The American record in Puerto Rico before the Second World War is a sorry tale to tell, whatever one's ideological bearings. Lewis' survey, based on published sources, includes many sharp observations; some are revisionist, as is his discounting the importance of the Muñoz Rivera pact with Sagasta, while others express accepted views strikingly. The account juxtaposes two themes: the harmful effects on Puerto Rican society and psyche of two successive imperialisms and the artificial barriers to Caribbean unity imposed by the European legacy. That Puerto Rico is not more closely bound to other Caribbean communities rankles Lewis, but under existing conditions little can be done to alter the situation.

Lewis wants to see a change in Puerto Rico's destiny. To make this idea more attractive, he must undermine the sanctity of the present status, the commonwealth, or associated free state. If devastating criticism of the Popular party's

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propaganda about Operation Bootstrap and Puerto Rico's constitutional identity can be considered undermining, then Lewis has carried the field. The chapter on Bootstrap is brilliant. It ignominiously grounds the semiofficial, rhetorical flights of Earl Parker Hanson and others. But Lewis does not simply demolish pretensions; he also shows what Bootstrap is, what it is not, and he muses intelligently about what it cannot be. This is an honest and much-needed critique.

The change Lewis desires for Puerto Rico is independence. United States imperialism, however benevolent (and Lewis dutifully and fairly notes the importance of such aid), denies the Puerto Rican identity. Independence, with Uncle Sam underwriting the future economic pitfalls (a moral duty, in view of the exploitative past), is the single solution. Otherwise it will be *pan o palo* at the whim of the colonial power. Lewis the editorialist is far less effective than Lewis the student of government. His account of the feasibility of independence is unconvincing. Nowhere does he show that Puerto Rico can sustain itself decently on its own resources, and surely he does not think that the US, however generous the terms of an independence pact, will permanently support the island. But important political decisions, nonrational in economic terms, have been made many times before, and it would be foolish to dismiss independence sentiment in our "Caribbean Showcase." The issue is by no means dead, as many persons (myself included) had thought a few years ago.

Lewis is to be congratulated on a splendid work. It is the kind of book that the late C. Wright Mills might have written about Cuba if he had subordinated his emotions to his intelligence.

Stanford University FRANK OTTO GATELL

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

BOOKS

General

VISTAS OF HISTORY. By *Samuel Eliot Morison.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. x, 180. $4.00.) This charming volume owes its being to an award Professor Morison received in 1963, the first Balzan Prize to be given a historian. The prize itself "rivals the Nobel Prize in splendor and munificence," and to receive it the admiral-professor had to go to Rome. The first chapter in the *Vistas* is therefore a detailed account of this experience. Several other prizes were awarded at the same time, among them one to Pope John XXIII for his contributions to peace. Hence the narrative includes a colorful account of the pageantry involved in the presentation of this prize at the Vatican. In his foreword Morison makes the task of reviewing his book easy. As Chapter II, following the story of his Roman holiday, he includes the lecture "on his specialty" that the occasion demanded, "The Experiences and Principles of an Historian." Then come four more chapters drawn from his earlier works "to enable the reader to judge whether the principles set forth in the lecture have been carried out in practice." The four excerpts chosen are "Life in the 'Old Colony' in the Seventeenth Century," "The Wisdom of Benjamin Franklin," "The Peace Convention of February 1861," and "The Battle off Samar October 25, 1944." A bibliography of "Books by Samuel Eliot Morison" completes the volume. Students of historical method will find little of the doctrinaire in Morison's conception of his role as historian. He emphasizes the importance of coordinating the political, social, economic, and cultural aspects of history and advocates the re-creation of the past in vivid prose. He urges writers of history to draw not only upon the records, but also upon their own experience and background. He finds no substitute for personal knowledge of the setting in which historical events are cast and takes comfort from the fact that the naval historian, unlike the less fortunate landlubbers, finds the sea today about as it always has been. He pays a merited compliment to "oral history," the recollections of participants. But mostly he advocates common sense. Know as much as you can, write as well as you can, and tell the truth as you see it. In the four reprinted extracts he demonstrates the wisdom of this course. It may not be altogether inappropriate to mention here the handsome way in which Alfred A. Knopf has brought out this book and the debt the historical profession owes him for his many similar services. He has even been known to argue with royalty-conscious authors that footnotes should be visible at the bottom of the page rather than hidden in remote and inaccessible places.

University of California, Berkeley JOHN D. HICKS

GESCHICHTLICHKEIT: IHR TERMINOLOGISCHER UND BEGRIFFLICHER URSPRUNG BEI HEGEL, HAYM, DILTHEY UND YORCK. By *Leonhard von Renthe-Fink.* [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Series 3, Number 59.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 153. DM 18.) In 1954 the *AHR* published an article by Dwight Lee and Robert Beck on "The Meaning of 'Historicism'" (LIX [Apr. 1954], 568–77). It was a rather schematic presentation of at least five definitions of this term, which generally

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refers to the belief that the truth, meaning, and value of anything is to be found in its history. In contrast to this direct conceptual analysis, Leonhard von Renthe-Fink's study is a far more abstract inquiry into the intellectual ancestry of the related term "historicity." He points out that the word *Geschichtlichkeit* was essentially a nineteenth-century creation of Hegel who used it not without ambiguity in discussions of philosophical and theological problems. From Hegel the path of development for the concept led through the formulations of Heine, Rosenkranz, Haym, Dilthey, and Yorck. For these German authors the term *Geschichtlichkeit* appeared to have an abstract existence all its own, an existence that presupposed growth, mutation, struggle, adaptation, redefinition, and all the other *Kampfbegriffe* used to illuminate and obscure the controversies of nineteenth-century philosophy. The author describes very vividly one culminating point in the early conceptual history of "historicity" when Dilthey and Yorck established an extremely productive exchange of views on the speculative meanings of concrete historical study. After Dilthey the "word," "idea," and "problems" of "historicity" fanned out into a variety of intellectual currents where, as the author suggests, the precision and integrity of the term were frequently overwhelmed. Perhaps the most attractive aspect of this study is the recognition accorded to the fruitful genius of Dilthey in one more area of intellectual history.

Harvard University RICHARD M. HUNT

A HISTORY OF INTEREST RATES. By *Sidney Homer.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 617. $10.00.) In scope this book is enormous. Mr. Homer has patiently gathered quantitative and other materials on historical interest rates in many countries from the present time back into antiquity. This book in many ways parallels Paul Einzig's recently published *History of Foreign Exchange* (1962) and would make a good companion to that volume. Homer's book is more massive and less analytical than is Einzig's. Like Einzig, Homer is a financial expert, and the reader gains considerable advantage from this in several places, for example, in the selection and explanation of information describing early European financial instruments. Because the book covers millenniums, there is, naturally enough, a great amount of "telescoping" of time and events. The book is held together mainly by its central theme, interest rates, but it is otherwise diffuse. Although written by an expert, it is not a book for experts, since important subjects are not treated with much depth. In spite of the use of hundreds of different sources, the book's great scope precludes much detailed analysis; the discussion of nineteenth-century English financial development makes, for example, no use of either the works of W.T.C. King or Victor Morgan. The works used by Homer there (primarily Clapham and Hawtrey) cannot take him very far into the subject matter, although those authorities are sound enough and well employed. The book is a survey, is meant to be, and, I think, is generally successful in this regard. Many tables and charts are utilized to present the quantitative materials, and clear and simple explanations are given in the text of the more arcane financial matters. Homer draws together a vast amount of hard to get information in a single volume, and he discusses it, century by century, epoch by epoch, from start to finish.

Purdue University J. R. T. HUGHES

THE HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION. By *Vern L. Bullough. Bonnie L. Bullough,* Research Associate. (New Hyde Park, N. Y.: University Books. 1964. Pp. ix, 304. $7.50.) Professor Bullough, who teaches at San Fernando Valley State College, has attempted a panoramic view, from primitives and the ancient East to the hetaerae and beyond, with a glance at courtly love, a longer look at famous royal mistresses, a survey of the rise of governmental supervision of prostitution in nineteenth-century Europe, and a

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final sweep over topics such as the Wolfenden Report and the prostitute in literature. The result, in a book of less than three hundred pages, is a series of short chapters that catalogue facts, in the manner of old-fashioned social history, and conclude with a few paragraphs of superficial interpretation. Bullough usually tries to consider prostitution as a function of social and familial structure, but he shows little explanatory power: routinized attention to the shibboleth that prostitution must relate somehow to other parts of a society cannot take the place of sustained and detailed psychosocial analysis. The skimpiness of his coverage and his uneasy efforts at humor suggest some hope of gaining a considerable number of unscholarly readers, not a reprehensible aim, but one that too often leads him to settle for anecdotes when he might have been dissecting political, social, economic, and psychic factors. The writing, dull and full of barbarities, may exasperate even seekers after titillation. I had to drive myself to finish the book and often found the history of prostitution about as fascinating as statistics of light bulb production. Further reflection, with the book closed, led me back to the sense of expectation with which I had begun my reading, and to the hope that a twentieth-century historian would deal with the subject as it deserved to be treated. No problem can demand more knowledge, discipline, and resourcefulness.

Carnegie Institute of Technology RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD

FIGUREN EN PROBLEMEN. By *P. Geyl.* In two volumes. (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek N. V. 1964. Pp. 141; 135. Glds. 5.50 each.) These two paperback volumes are collections of review essays originally written (with one exception) for the Dutch weekly newspaper *Vrij Nederland* between 1960 and 1963. The first volume includes the essays on Low Countries personalities and figures, the second on "foreign" (which Geyl here defines as neither Dutch nor Flemish) subjects. Like the similar volumes published between 1959 and 1961 under the generic title of "figures," these pieces are less reviews than essays elicited by the books. The same qualities of broad knowledge, deft analysis, and vigorous judgment are also present.

Rutgers University HERBERT H. ROWEN

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN TAR IN THE ENGLISH MARKET DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES. By *Kustaa Hautala.* [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, Number 130.] (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. 1963. Pp. 195. 10 mk.) Too often international trade has been studied from the standpoint of a single port or country or at most an exchange between two nations. Most commodities moving in international trade in fact, however, have to compete in something of a "world market" with suppliers, marts, and buyers in many lands. It is the merit of Dr. Hautala's new work that he well understands that the history of the Finnish tar trade, the great export trade of that land from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, can be understood only in terms of competition in British markets with North American produce. The intellectual conception of this book, reminiscent of Professor Albion's pioneer work of forty years ago, is therefore a model for all workers in the field. Its execution is less happy. The Dutch market is unfortunately neglected. The narrative is too uneven, too thin in spots. The statistics are the most valuable feature of the work, yet even here there are needless gaps that could have been filled in by reference to the Public Record Office series "Customs 14" (Scotland), "Customs 17" (Great Britain), and so forth. Extensive use has been made of archival material in England, though its precise character is not always understood: thus C.O.389 is a general entry book of the Board of Trade, containing both incoming and outgoing letters, so that numerous documents treated here as incoming letters from "some influential men" are in fact outgoing letters from the board. There are other minor slips, and the bibliography could have been fuller on

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American materials. The work is, nevertheless, an important essay in integrating the many sides of a complex multinational trade and can be read with profit by all students of American foreign trade. We should be grateful that it has been translated from the Finnish.

University of Michigan JACOB M. PRICE

FAKTOREN DER POLITISCHEN ENTSCHEIDUNG: FESTGABE FÜR ERNST FRAENKEL ZUM 65. GEBURTSTAG. Edited by *Gerhard A. Ritter* and *Gilbert Ziebura.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1963. Pp. x, 451.) Ernst Fraenkel turned to the field of political science after many years as a lawyer and publicist. The study of the American legal system while a refugee from Germany and an assignment in Korea widened his perspectives, and when he assumed a position at the reopened *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik,* he came to play a major part in the establishment of comparative government as a field of political science in Germany. A major contribution of Fraenkel has been the formation of an America institute at the Free University in Berlin. All these interests are reflected in the collection of essays issued to commemorate his sixty-fifth birthday. A number of pieces concern general questions in the field of political science: Hans Kelsen's "Politics, Ethics, Religion and Law," Otto Heinrich von der Gablentz' essay on the criteria of political decisions, and Arnold Bergstraesser's discussion of the concept of political style belong in this category. Several contributions are primarily historical in their orientation and will be of special interest to readers of the *AHR.* Gilbert Ziebura's detailed discussion of the procedures of the German National Assembly of 1848–1849 is a major contribution to our understanding of events that Theodore S. Hamerow has done much to re-examine on this side of the Atlantic. Wolfgang Scheffler has some useful things to say about the ideology of National Socialism, while Gerhard Schulz analyzes aspects of the resistance to it. The interrelation of ideology, foreign policy, and domestic policy is discussed particularly well by Richard Löwenthal in a masterful review of the recent course of Sino-Soviet relations and by Karl Dietrich Bracher in the "Primat der Aussenpolitik." Fraenkel's interest in the processes of American government are mirrored in Karl Loewenstein's article on *Baker* v. *Carr* and Otto Kahn-Freund's comparison of British and American problems and practices in the protection of democratic rights inside the labor movement. Discussion of the current functioning of the political processes in the West is found in Henry W. Ehrmann's "Bureaucracy and Interest Groups in the Decision-Making Process of the Fifth Republic," Gerhard A. Ritter's "Control of Government and Administration in Great Britain," and pieces by Hans Huber and Max Imboden on direct public participation in legislation in Switzerland. The comparative approach is aptly illustrated by Franz Anspenger's review of the role of the emerging single political party in a number of African countries. There is also a brief and disappointing paper on the relation of political to military supreme command by Hans Herzfeld. The essays cover the range of Fraenkel's own interests more closely than is usually the case with *Festschriften.* Serving a didactic as well as an informative purpose, they honor the man they commemorate in a manner he would surely approve.

University of Michigan GERHARD L. WEINBERG

BOR'BA EVROPEISKIKH DERZHAV ZA SIAMSKII RYNOK (30–80e GODY XVII V.) [The Struggle of the European Powers for the Siamese Market (1630's–1680's)]. By *E. O. Berzin.* (Moscow: Publishing House for Oriental Literature. 1962. Pp. 260.) This monograph is a detailed study of Thailand's early relations with European powers, showing in microcosm the difficulties involved in establishing a mutually profitable trade between the East and the West in the seventeenth century. Thailand (Siam), the strongest of the Southeast Asian states of the time, entertained repeated proposals

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from European powers to establish trade relations. The avarice of the foreigner, combined with the capricious behavior of the rulers at Ayudhya, thwarted such hopes. The author could hardly have selected a more sordid chapter in seventeenth-century European overseas trade activity to analyze, or one that afforded more credence to his Marxist view of capitalist trade enterprise. Yet this work is valuable for its vivid, thorough portrayal of a conflict that was meaningful if somewhat localized. Although the author's bias and tendentious vocabulary weaken his arguments, few readers will refute the disreputable character of the trade activities that he describes or wonder at Thailand's ultimate decision to renounce all European trade regulations for the sake of preserving its independence. The book contains a useful bibliography and map of Siam. At the list price of one ruble the book is also a good buy.

University of California, Davis C. Bickford O'Brien

L'ISLAM DANS LE MIROIR DE L'OCCIDENT. COMMENT QUELQUES ORIENTALISTES OCCIDENTAUX SE SONT PENCHÉS SUR L'ISLAM ET SE SONT FORMÉ UNE IMAGE DE CETTE RELIGION: I. GOLDZIHER, C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, C. H. BECKER, D. B. MacDONALD, LOUIS MASSIGNON. By *Jean-Jacques Waardenburg*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Recherches méditerranéennes, Études, Number 3.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. xi, 374.) At first glance this book may be disappointing, for it is not exactly what the short title on the jacket implies. Rather than a summary of past or present Western conceptions of Islam, it is, as the author aptly says, an analysis of "the importance of the personal concepts of the scholar to his comprehension of the foreign religion which he describes" and an attempt "to formulate the conditions for a comprehensive approach which will permit an understanding of Islam" or any other religion. To achieve these aims Waardenburg discusses briefly the lives and works of five scholars: the historians Ignace Goldziher, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, and Carl H. Becker; and the Islamologists Duncan B. MacDonald and Louis Massignon. He gives attention to how the backgrounds, philosophic commitments, and academic and nonacademic interests of each of these men may have influenced their views on Islam. The five scholars were diverse enough in these areas to make such an approach to their works interesting and valid. The persevering reader will find much information in the book concerning the development of Oriental and Islamic studies in the West and concerning various phases of Islam. There are enlightening sections on Mohammed's role in Islam, the Judaeo-Christian influences on Islam, the historical role of the Prophet's religion, its religious nature, and its position in the contemporary (late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century) world. The sections dealing with Islamic mysticism are especially rewarding. It is useful to read Daniel, *Islam and the West* (1960) as a companion volume. Waardenburg writes in a lucid, straightforward style. A detailed table of contents and index, an extensive bibliography of the scholars considered, and rather full notes add to the book's merits.

Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh Robert Carlton Delk

ARAB REDISCOVERY OF EUROPE: A STUDY IN CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS. By *Ibrahim Abu-Lughod*. [Oriental Studies Series, Number 22.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 188. $4.75.) Dr. Abu-Lughod's volume, originally a doctoral dissertation, is a narrower book than its title suggests. Basically, the work is a limited study of European, especially French, impact on the Arab world during the period beginning with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and ending in 1870. A few pages at the end of the volume offer tentative conclusions on the nature of the contact since 1870, but we are promised a detailed study of the later period. A bibliography, particularly useful for the primary sources, and an index close the volume. It

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should immediately be stated that only two aspects of the encounter are studied: books translated into Arabic, especially in Egypt under Mohammed Ali's auspices; and Arab travelers, Lebanese, Tunisian, and Egyptian, who wrote accounts of their journeys to the West. It has been clear for some time now that something must have gone on in the Arab world between the death of Ibn Khaldun and the Second World War, and several recent studies are beginning to inform us of salient points. Gibb and Bowen's *Islamic Society and the West,* Volume I, constitutes the first extended attempt to describe the situation before the beginning of modernization. Abu-Lughod's book, along with other complementary works appearing almost simultaneously (A. Hourani's *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939,* and W. Polk's *The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788–1840*), constitutes a pioneering effort to dispel our ignorance of the initial phases of modernization, especially in the intellectual and cultural realms. Within the limitation imposed by his twofold approach, Abu-Lughod has been most successful. He has covered the available materials thoroughly and has expressed himself clearly if not always felicitously. The work contains some minor inconsistencies and errors, but will no doubt become and remain a standard resource within its own compass.

Princeton University R. Bayly Winder

III RZESZA I ARABSKI WSCHÓD [The Third *Reich* and the Arab East]. By *Łukasz Hirszowicz.* [Instytut Historii Pan.] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza. 1963. Pp. 565. Zł. 50.) Germany's defeat in the war of 1914–1918 resulted in the complete elimination of its influence in the Middle East, where in the preceding thirty years or so it had achieved an important political and economic position. In the interwar period, neither the Weimar Republic nor the Third *Reich* engaged in political activity in that area, and Germany's economic interests there were insignificant. The turning point in the Third *Reich's* relation to the Middle East was apparently the plan for the partition of Palestine. In his thoroughly documented, scholarly study, Hirszowicz, an expert on the Middle East at the Polish Academy of Sciences, shows how the project to create a Jewish state in part of Palestine became the direct cause of renewal of German political interest in the Arab East. And he deals with the Nazi government's political activities there from July 1937, when the Peel royal commission's partition proposal was issued, to the defeat of the Axis armies in Tunisia in May 1943. Arab opposition to partition and to Jewish immigration into Palestine, the author points out, was the platform for contacts between the *Reich* and the Arab leaders in Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. As Germany considered establishment of a Jewish state contrary to Arab and its own interests, it decided to strengthen the Arabs as a counterweight to it, although it cautiously refrained from any official steps against the plan so as not to worsen its relations with Great Britain. But with the Czechoslovak crisis, the *Reich's* policy in the Middle East became more aggressive with regard to the Palestine-Jewish question and later in its support of Arab demands for national independence. The first fruit of this was the establishment in 1939 of diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia. Hirszowicz' painstaking investigation of the Third *Reich's* political activities in the Arab lands before and during the war shows that German policy was considerably limited, however, by relations with other powers and other considerations. During the Munich negotiations the *Reich* figured on an understanding with Great Britain. Then it had to take account of Italy's politico-military attitudes and spheres of interest in the Middle East. Also, significantly, racism and "European ideology" determined Nazi relations to Arab national aspirations. And as war necessitated, it had to consider the interests of Italy, France, Turkey, and Spain, which conflicted with Arab independence movements. The author points out, moreover, that Nazi Germany did not seek a war of decision in the Middle East. At first it counted on

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Great Britain's suing for peace. Later, as a result of Italy's military weakness and the preparations for Operation BARBAROSSA, it became impossible to continue the struggle in the Arab area. In the Nazi plan, the full exploitation of Arab nationalism was to follow victory over the Soviet Union. This major contribution to the literature on the Third *Reich* is the result of exhaustive researches in Western and Eastern archives and in other sources. It is deserving of a wider audience in the West, and it is hoped that it may soon be brought out in an English translation.

Brooklyn, New York ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER

AMERICAN SUPPORT OF FREE ELECTIONS ABROAD. By *Theodore Paul Wright, Jr.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1964. Pp. 184. $4.50.) One of the great weaknesses in the conduct of American foreign policy in the twentieth century has been excessive reliance on patterns of governmental structure. At the close of World War II there was far too much trust in the efficacy of mere US membership in the United Nations as a preventive of a third world war. Professor Wright, a member of the department of government at Bates College, has now undertaken to describe the difficulties caused by a similar overconfidence in the matter of supporting free elections. Devoting a chapter each to Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Costa Rica, and Honduras, he reviews the record of our efforts to deal with the problems of our Caribbean neighbors in the 1898–1933 era by this method. There are also chapters on the effort to follow the same course in Eastern Europe and elsewhere following World War II. His chief conclusion is that "the policy of supporting free elections evidently has not been very effective in achieving the goals of American policy makers. . . . The reason for this lies in the nature of the politics of Latin America and other underdeveloped areas which make successful support of democracy as an end in itself impossible no matter how comprehensive the means employed." Among the important features of the politics of such areas he mentions the fluidity of factional coalitions, the preoccupation with re-election, the use of force and the bandwagon effect. "The consequence of this [last-mentioned] phenomenon is that very slight rumors or strained inferences from the words and actions of military and foreign power holders have been enough to precipitate an avalanche of votes for the favored side." The reader familiar with the history of US-Caribbean relations will not find in the book much that is new, and the nonexpert may think the presentation a little confusing since many individuals and policies necessarily appear again and again in successive chapters, each with its own chronology. Nevertheless, by assembling all this material in a single volume Wright has performed a very useful service.

University of Delaware MARSHALL KNAPPEN

THE U.S.S.R. AND AFRICA. By *David Morison.* [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London, and the Central Asian Research Centre.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 124. $2.25.) Soviet literature began to give serious attention to Africa during the last few years of Stalin's regime, and beginning with the Bandung Conference of 1955 Africa became an important political factor in Soviet foreign policy. This short monograph by David Morison, editor of the *Mizan Newsletter* of the Central Asian Research Centre, summarizes the Soviet view on Africa over the last decade. The work is a carefully documented, general synthesis taken from the prodigious resources of the Central Asian Research Centre. In addition, the appendix prepared by Christopher Rundle gives the Soviet attitude country by country in Africa. Political and ideological interests in African independence and development have dominated Soviet scholarship, but the author hopes that the growing familiarity may also bring understanding. Already, for example, increased knowledge

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of the African "peasantry" and the "village commune" has brought an appreciation of the complexity of African societies. Africa is no longer considered merely an appendage of Asia. Although the author recognizes the increased sophistication of the Soviet views, he neglects to analyze Africa as a dynamic political factor in Soviet foreign policy and the waxing and waning of Soviet optimism concerning its ability to influence African movements. Morison does not, for example, discuss the re-evaluation by the Communists of their strategy in Africa during 1959–1960 mentioned by other writers on the subject, such as Dallin, Lowenthal, and I. But the static quality of this monograph does not detract from its usefulness as a general reference on the Soviet attitude toward Africa over the last ten years.

University of California, Los Angeles DAVID T. CATTELL

Ancient and Medieval

ANCIENT ATHENIAN CALENDARS ON STONE. By *W. Kendrick Pritchett.* [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume IV, Number 4.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. 267–401. $4.00.) Pritchett began his study of the Athenian calendar and archons over twenty years ago as the collaborator of Benjamin D. Meritt: *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (1940). That the two had parted company professionally became obvious with the publication of *The Calendars of Athens* (1947), by Pritchett and O. Neugebauer. The authors argued that Aristotle's statement about the conciliar calendar (four prytanies of thirty-six days, six of thirty-five) must be accepted rigidly; that the archon, certainly in Hellenistic times, "tampered" with the calendar; that many of Meritt's readings of inscriptions, especially *I.G.*, I^2, 324, were wrong and had led to false reconstructions of the calendar. Pritchett persevered in the journals, with increasing asperity. Meritt devoted his Sather Lectures of 1959 to the calendar and his book, in which he accepts the second thesis listed above, but disputes the first and last, is a vigorous assessment of progress in calendric studies: *The Athenian Year* (1961). *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone* is Pritchett's reply. As a rule, controversy leads to advance. In Pritchett's book, this is not the case. He simply denies, almost point for point, what Meritt has written, in terms that are often far from courteous, and he delivers a number of authoritarian sermons on epigraphic method. So far as readings of damaged inscriptions are concerned, the student will have to judge for himself, preferably in Athens, although Pritchett sometimes may be convicted by his own drawings and photographs. Unfortunately, in his plea for scrupulous accuracy in the reproduction of texts and conservatism in their interpretation, he himself makes a number of crucial blunders (so, on page 271 the sign for one hundred talents is written by mistake eight times for one hundred drachmas) and his writing is obscure. Worst of all, his tone is little short of abusive. I do not approve of this attitude toward any reputable scholar, least of all toward one who is recognized today as the dean of epigraphic studies. In my judgment, this book should not have been published.

University of British Columbia MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

LA CRISE DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN: DE MARC-AURÈLE À ANASTASE. By *Roger Rémondon.* ["Nouvelle Clio": L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 11.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. 363. 20 fr.) This book's first impression is its best. It is small, attractively bound and printed, with ample apparatus for use: a detailed table of contents, long index, 8 maps, a 17-page chronological table, and numbered bibliography running to item 538. All this takes up more than 100 pages. The bibliography is up to date, generally well chosen, but carelessly edited (committing

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that high crime, misspelling of the reviewer's name). Here, M. Rémondon has put in too much, and that may be the chief fault of the whole book. He provides in the text proper no firm narrative skeleton, perhaps thinking the chronological table sufficient for that need; thus many historical figures, even emperors, drift in and out of the account unexplained and suspended. Donatism and Arianism, for example, are repeatedly referred to, but nowhere does he identify them or say where they came from. In the section on "The Arian Problem" we are told only that Arianism was "opposed to the orthodox credo," though later it appears in a table that reduces Christology to schematic form. There are also schematic representations of the government and several complicated pedigrees of the imperial family; in the text itself historical factors are numbered, and all the material is presented in short paragraphs of one or two, occasionally of three or four sentences, grouped in sections. The Roman nobility under Constantine, for example, constitutes one page. The general reader will be repelled by this mechanical arrangement, the more so for the lacks of continuity and explanation already mentioned; the specialist, not likely to pick up a survey text in any event, will be irritated by an over-all sprinkling of trivial errors, mostly touching the western provinces and earlier decades of the study; and the only audience to need and value the book thus seems to be the college students who have already had some background in the subject. After completing the descriptive part, the author, in the last seventy-five pages, surveys the whole period again, analytically, in the same choppy style. Here he considers a number of problems connected with the decline of Rome, usually collecting recent interpretations of different scholars and suggesting new difficulties and approaches. Though covering too much ground, in inconclusive short sections, this is the most interesting part of the book and reveals the author's extremely wide and alert scholarship.

Institute for Advanced Study RAMSAY MACMULLEN

A SHORT HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY. By *Julius R. Weinberg.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 304. $6.00.) The virtues of this book would be better represented by the title "Studies of Some Medieval Philosophers." Dr. Weinberg, addressing himself "primarily to students of philosophy," presents chapters on selected philosophers from Augustine to Nicholas of Autrecourt in which he lucidly summarizes positions, shows their relation to major trends of ancient, medieval, and modern philosophy, and provides helpful, perceptive, and provocative criticism. By omitting, among others, Boethius (except as a transmitter), the School of Chartres, and Henry of Ghent, Weinberg is able to deal intensively with the survivors. The concentration on metaphysics, theories of knowledge, and logic is less fortunate, since the beginner may think that medieval philosophers ignored such branches as ethics, aesthetics, political theory, or philosophy of history. Although the jacket suggests equality of treatment, Islamic and Jewish philosophy are subordinated to an understanding of Western Christian views. The bibliographic treatment is so selective that the book contains no reference to Geyer's revision of Ueberweg, De Wulf, Leff, Copleston's *History of Philosophy,* or any of the works of Grabmann. The up-to-date notes and bibliography for his chapter on Islamic philosophy contrast with the scanty references to recent scholarship on Western philosophers; there is no citation of work done on Erigena after 1940 and little guidance through the dense thicket of current studies on Aquinas. Although well printed, the book is sometimes careless in detail (for example, the translation of *sermo* as "sermon"), and a number of footnote citations are so casual as to be maddening. The index contains only personal names (beginning with "St. Abelard") and no entries for concepts or philosophical schools. Weinberg abstracts philosophy from its historical setting, leaping from Augustine to Erigena without mentioning either the barbarian invasions or the Carolingian renais-

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sance; in discussing the decline of Islamic philosophy, he gives too much weight to al-Ghazzali's refutation of philosophy and none to the intolerance and destruction of culture created by the Christian and Mongol invasions of Islam. In his introduction the author states that he hopes to show "more by illustration than by explicit argument" that medieval philosophy existed "not merely in spite of, but also because of the religious traditions in which it developed." Such a statement is no substitute for demonstration. Theology, of course, made a place for its handmaiden philosophy, but, more than his primary thesis, the book illustrates how the religious views that predominated in the Middle Ages severely limited the development of philosophy.

University of Pennsylvania JOHN F. BENTON

KURZE QUELLENKUNDE DES WESTEUROPÄISCHEN MITTELALTERS: EINE TYPOLOGISCHE, HISTORISCHE UND BIBLIOGRAPHISCHE EINFÜHRUNG. By *R. C. van Caenegem.* With the collaboration of *F. L. Ganshof.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. xiii, 365. DM 26.) The authors of this work intended to present an up-to-date survey of the sources of European life and thought in the Middle Ages and to comment critically on their reliability and on modern aids prepared to interpret them. It must be said that they have succeeded remarkably well and that both the beginning student of medieval history and the scholar will profit from the use of this book. Chapters are devoted to each of the areas within which sources are usually grouped, including narrative texts, histories, letters, biographies, legal and fiscal documents, charters, and official registers. The great collections of sources appear (although the contents of individual volumes are not analyzed) as well as the most useful bibliographies. There is a good section on aids to the study of medieval texts, which includes studies of chronology, geography, papyrology, and linguistics. A final section deals with a bibliographical orientation to the area of the auxiliary sciences—diplomatics, paleography, epigraphy, numismatics, sigillography, genealogy, and heraldry. Although most attention is given to the larger countries of Western and Southern Europe, this work is not directed toward the national traditions, but rather toward the whole of European scholarship. Less attention is given to Northern Europe and to the western Slavs, but Byzantium receives two full chapters. Russia and the Islamic world are (unfortunately) by design left out. This work is the fruit of years of collection and reflection, both on the part of Professor Ganshof and of his student Van Caenegem. One of its chief values lies in its organization and in the brief and concise articles which illuminate some of the vexing problems of medieval documentation. By them the reader is led from one aspect of the subject to another so that he perceives new relationships and wider applications of the ideas therein treated. Every library and every student of the Middle Ages should have the book.

University of Denver ALLEN D. BRECK

SOVREMENNAIA BURZHUAZNAIA ISTORIOGRAFIIA DREVNEI RUSI [Contemporary Bourgeois Historiography of Ancient Rus]. By *V. P. Shusharin.* (Moscow: "Science" Publishing House. 1964. Pp. 304.) This volume confines itself to the period defined by Lenin as "Ancient Rus," from the ninth to the early twelfth century. Its stated purpose is to establish what the bourgeoisie of the West desires the public to accept as a proper interpretation of Russian history. It concentrates, therefore, mainly on general treatments of Russian history believed to have wide circulation in the leading countries of the West. The material is organized, not in terms of individual authors, but of topics: the economy, the social structure, the political institutions, and "Normanism," with appropriate subheadings. Shusharin sees modern bourgeois historians as committing three principal errors: they deny that ancient Rus was a special stage in the development of eastern Slavdom (asserting that the grand prince's power was not an in-

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stitution to promote the class interests of hereditary landlords, that the *veche* was a popular assembly with significant power, and that the princes' feuds show that Rus was not a single, unified state); they support the "trade theory" of Kliuchevskii; and they uphold the "Normanist theory." Shusharin is especially aggrieved at the refusal of Western historians to accept the Marxist definition of "feudalism." Although points on which individual Western historians are in accord with interpretations currently accepted in the Soviet Union are generally passed over in silence (a notable exception is *Obzor russkoi istorii,* by Valentin A. Riazanovskii, for whom the author quite properly shows great respect), the numerous citations from Western writers seem to be quite accurate and fairly presented. In this respect, as well as in the neutral, non-denigratory title, Shusharin's book is a relief from the numerous Soviet discussions of "bourgeois falsifications," which too often falsify what the cited authors actually wrote. This volume is perhaps a welcome indication of a new, but apparently growing, spirit in Soviet historiography.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

KARJALA IDÄN KULTTUURIPIIRISSÄ: BYSANTIN JA VENÄJÄN YHTEYKSISTÄ KESKIAJAN KARJALAAN. By *Heikki Kirkinen.* [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 67.] (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä. 1963. Pp. 262.) As Heikki Kirkinen suggests, the study of Karelian history in Finland has probably suffered from both neglect and the well-nigh inevitable intrusion of national and political considerations. This well-written and objective dissertation, dealing with Byzantine and Russian economic, political, and ecclesiastical contacts with Karelia during the Middle Ages, is thus very welcome. Relying extensively on manuscript and printed Russian sources, Kirkinen traces the origins of Karelia; the gradual, at times violent, extension of Novgorod's political control over the region; the introduction and spread of Eastern Christianity and the establishment of monasteries, notably at Valaam and Konevitsa. Kirkinen corrects earlier interpretations that had exaggerated the role of the West in Karelia's historical development. He shows, for example, that the settlement of Karelia proceeded from the eastern and southeastern areas of Ladoga rather than from Finland's Häme; the Kalevala epic poems, which many scholars insist were exclusively created in western Finland, are shown to contain a considerable amount of Karelian elements. The revisionist views are put forward with becoming modesty, and frequently Kirkinen stresses the need for further research, especially in Russian sources. Included are an excellent bibliography and a short German-language summary.

Heidelberg College JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

EUROPE IN THE CENTRAL MIDDLE AGES, 962–1154. By *Christopher Brooke.* [A General History of Europe.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. [1964.] Pp. xvi, 403. $6.50.) This excellent volume provides what the author too modestly calls a "sketch" of the "life of the age" that began with the imperial coronation of Otto I and ended with the deaths of Conrad III (1152), Eugenius III and St. Bernard (1153), and Stephen of England and Roger the Great of Sicily (1154). It was an age of momentous change, and the dynamic character of the nearly two centuries is prominent in the essay on conditions that takes up the first 156 pages. The remaining chapters provide a well-balanced narrative of political, ecclesiastical, and cultural developments. In a book so organized, some repetition is inevitable, but there are several passages where it could have been avoided. This does not, however, detract from the value of the work for readers to whom the material is not already familiar. One blemish, stylistic rather than substantive, is the author's occasional lapse into denying the absurd or affirming the obvious: "No doubt Otto (II) was aware of Germany"; "We would do wrong to read into [the election at Forcheim, 1077] the cause of the

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collapse of the monarchy in the thirteenth century. . . . But we should do equally wrong to ignore its significance." There is an interesting discussion of what is called "the Cistercian paradox," but it is not so conclusive that one does not still wonder if the explanation is even simpler, namely, that the desire for self-sufficiency confronted the monks with the alternatives of failure or technological progress. And even a brief review must note that the reasons why "it was well . . . that [Gregory VII] did not altogether succeed" or why "It was fortunate for the reformed papacy that Gregory did not live longer" do not really emerge. On the whole, this is a thoughtful, thought-provoking, and a well-written work. A great number of students and teachers of medieval history will benefit from the lively portrayal of a fascinating period. It would be ungracious, therefore, to note the current difficulty that authors necessarily experience in finding good titles for their surveys.

University of Minnesota ROBERT S. HOYT

DOCUMENTS DE DROIT PUBLIC RELATIFS À LA RUSSIE MÉDIÉVALE. By *Marc Szeftel.* Under the initial direction of *Alexandre Eck.* (Brussels: Éditions de la Librairie Encyclopédique. 1963. Pp. 302.) This volume, a partial realization of a plan conceived by the late Alexandre Eck, contains translations into French, with extended commentaries, of the short and expanded editions of the *Pravda Russkaia,* of the code of Pskov, and of several princely decrees relating to ecclesiastical matters, documents important especially for the information contained on Russian law of the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Szeftel's method includes detailed attention to the history of the editing of the various documents and careful consideration of the selection of those texts on which to base his translations. I am inclined to challenge his choice of one text: the extended version of the ecclesiastical statute of Iaroslav Vladimirovich. The short version seems older, although I concede that the matter is subject to considerable debate. His translations are particularly trustworthy because of his care, his precision, his logic, his enormous knowledge of the scholarly literature and its contents, and his intuition. His translations of specific words of the Church Slavic and old Russian originals are sometimes more literal than are the translations of George Vernadsky in *Medieval Russian Laws* (1947); nonetheless, occasionally Szeftel's choices of equivalents are difficult to accept. In general, his translations also accurately reflect the sense of the documents; one notes, nevertheless, a faint, regrettable de-emphasis upon the degree of sophistication in commercial transactions. By contrast, Vernadsky's choices of words and of bracketed explanations create the image of a slightly more developed and complex system of commerce. By combining articles and filling in gaps, Szeftel clarifies many obscure points. Occasional interpretations seem debatable, but, in general, he is extremely successful, especially in his handling of the code of Pskov. Sometimes Szeftel does not justify his more tenuous interpretations of lacunae or choices of French equivalents of old Russian words. This volume contains extraordinarily few misprints for which the editor and the press deserve special praise. Transcriptions from old Russian and numerous multilingual citations offer unique pitfalls, here avoided with almost complete success. The judgments presented in this review are based not merely upon a reading of the volume under consideration, but, as well, upon a comparison of close to one-half of the translated material with printed copies of the originals and upon a consideration of views contained in several commentaries and translations. This volume ought to enjoy an excellent reputation; one may hope that it will be followed by additional collections edited by the same scholar.

University of Kansas OSWALD P. BACKUS

WIELKA WŁASNOŚĆ CYSTERSKA W OSADNICTWIE POGRANICZA ŚLĄSKA I WIELKOPOLSKI [The Role of Cistercian Landed Property in Colonization of the

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Boundary Region of Silesia and Greater Poland]. By *Zbigniew Wielgosz.* [Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych. Prace Komisji Historycznej. Volume XXI, Part 1.] (Poznań: Praca Wydana z Zasiłku Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1964. Pp. 180. Zł. 46.) This study results from the investigation of landed properties belonging to the Cistercian abbey in Leubus. The abbey, founded in 1175, acquired large estates in Lower Silesia, in the Leubus province, and in Greater Poland through donations from the Polish Princes Henry the Bearded, Henry the Pious, Władysław Odonicz, and Bolesław the Pious. The author concludes that these donations to the Cistercians amounted to political action on the part of the Princes who wished thus to make their power secure in the western part of the Leubus province and in the Krosno district on the Oder River and to halt German expansion into these territories. The author aims also to indicate to what degree the Cistercians contributed to the colonization and economic development of the territories belonging to the Leubus abbey. He has divided his study into three chapters corresponding to the three main geographical areas in which the Leubus abbey had its landed properties. In each chapter he examines the developmental changes that took place between the twelfth and fifteenth century. Herein he challenges the older Polish writers and certain German authors with respect to the pioneering role played by the Cistercians in the colonization of these lands. He finds there, indeed, well-developed settlements embracing relatively dense populations prior to the dates when these territories were acquired by the Cistercians. The study was prepared under the guidance of Professor Kazimierz Tymieniecki during the years 1957–1960 at the Historical Institute of the University of Poznań. It is a preliminary study to a future history on the activity of the Cistercians in the economic and political development of Poland. The bibliography is extensive, including both German and Polish works.

Library of Congress JANINA W. HOSKINS

TOLEDOT MAMLEKHET HA-TSALBANIM BE-'ERETS-YISRA'EL [A History of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem]. Volume II, MASA'E-HA-TSELAV VEHA-MAMLAKHAH HA-SHENIYAH [The Crusades and the Second Kingdom]. By *Joshua Prawer.* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute. 1963. Pp. 650.) The second and concluding volume of Professor Prawer's history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is a worthy successor to the first (*AHR,* LXIX [July 1964], 1115). Prawer's methodology, command of data, and literary facility continue to impress. The author vividly reconstructs the maze of events from Saladin's triumphs in 1187 to the ignominious demise of Acre and its neighbors a little over a century later. He analyzes not only the politics and ideology of all the participants but the social and economic determinants as well. He demonstrates that the second kingdom, unlike its predecessor, was not essentially European in character, yet shows that its every stage reflected the larger scene of European activity and thought. Particularly the disintegration of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the draining of its hope and the residue of its idealism are to be understood in the light of changes in European society that were turning the concept "crusade" into an anachronism. In his treatment of the relationship between Holy Land and mother continent Prawer has emerged with one of the fairest and most comprehensive introductions to the events and personalities of thirteenth-century Europe. His familiarity with Arabic and Hebrew sources makes the six concluding chapters of his work, dealing with the infrequently treated inner history of the kingdom during the last three decades of its existence, an invaluable addition to scholarship. Here as elsewhere Prawer's research is based solidly on primary sources, including a generous amount of belles-lettres. The impressive fifty-page bibliography lists not only these but also a liberal selection of secondary sources dealing with the major areas of consideration in each chapter. The bibliography is thus a useful tool for

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both student and mature researcher. Regrettably the scope of this work did not permit a more exhaustive bibliography or fuller discussions, in the form of appendixes, of some of the controversial issues on which the author takes a stand. Such apparatus, however, continues to be a desideratum, as does at least a brief critical history of previous scholarship on the Latin Kingdom. As in the case of the first volume, the second is amply supplied with plates, charts, and maps. It contains as well three excellent indexes, but conspicuously absent are chronological tables. I again call for a translation. The work—original, thorough, and judicious—is a lasting contribution and is indispensable in its field.

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion MARTIN A. COHEN

TARGI I MIASTA NA PRAWIE POLSKIM (OKRES WCZESNOŚREDNIOWIECZNY) [Market Places and Towns Established under Polish Law (Early Middle Ages)]. By *Karol Buczek*. [Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 11.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1964. Pp. 139. Zł. 27.) The latest monograph of Professor Buczek, who in recent years has published several books and articles on Poland's social and constitutional history in the period of the Piast dynasty, is a thorough discussion of the controversial problem to what extent Polish urban life was developed and organized before the foundation of towns under German law in the thirteenth century. It certainly is to his credit that he decided not to take any "nationalistic" position; proceeding once more to a painstaking analysis of the available documents, he tries to correct the extreme interpretations of both the German scholars who minimize Poland's cultural achievements in the earlier centuries and those Polish historians who underestimate the importance of German colonization. It also seems that Buczek's conclusions are basically sound. He shows that there was in Poland from the origin of the Polish state a steadily growing number of market places, usually in connection with the ducal castles, where merchants and artisans could create centers of a truly urban character, but he questions the existence of any Polish "urban law," since the legal conditions were different in the various places. While he admits that the later towns under German law were usually located in the area of the original market places and feels that the character of the changes thus introduced would require further investigation, he does not think that the planning of those new urban settlements was based upon the existing conditions. Unfortunately, the positive results of Buczek's careful studies are not easy to disengage from his lengthy and often rather harsh polemics with practically all other Polish specialists. Though unavoidable in the introductory chapter on "The History of the Problem," the polemical character of his approach goes too far in all the remaining seven and sometimes confuses the reader. Foreign scholars would be interested in the author's suggestive use of the comparative method and in his remarks on the treatment of similar problems in the histories of other countries. But this is one more reason to regret that contrary to an almost general rule in Poland, there is in his valuable and provocative volume no summary of its contents in any foreign language, only a Russian and a French translation of the titles of the chapters.

Good Counsel College OSCAR HALECKI

THE CARTULARY OF NEWNHAM PRIORY. In two parts. Edited by *Joyce Godber*. [Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Volume XLIII.] (Bedford: the Society. 1963; 1964. Pp. xviii, 219; 221–442. £1 5*s*. each.) This chartulary consists of approximately one thousand documents that date for the most part from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and pertain to Newnham Priory in the shire of Bedford. St. Paul's Church in Bedford provided the origin of the priory, although the

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priory was actually established about 1180 when the secular canons were regularized as an Augustinian community and moved to neighboring Newnham. The documents cover the best years of the priory's existence, although they reveal that fact only indirectly. For as the editor admits, the "cartulary does not throw light on the quality of the religious life at Newnham, except in so far as the many gifts of the 13th century reflect the esteem in which it was then held." The abundance of the documents, which record the variety of these gifts, and the plethora of disputes touching property rights and rents do suggest, however, that several of the canons must have devoted considerable time to such nonspiritual activities as bookkeeping and litigation. Apart from their value for family histories and the histories of family possessions and place names, the documents supply a mass of incidental information relating to the material side of English monastic life in the Middle Ages. The editor merits high commendation for the accuracy and clarity of the transcription and the valuable notes that identify the contents of the documents they introduce. The second volume contains several indexes.

Pennsylvania State University JOSEPH DAHMUS

THE PIPE ROLL OF THE BISHOPRIC OF WINCHESTER, 1210–1211 (P.R.O. ECCL. 2–22–159270B). Edited, with an introduction, by *N. R. Holt.* ([Manchester:] Manchester University Press. 1964. Pp. xlvi, 207. 42*s.*) This book contains a careful and useful edition of one of the central accounts of the Exchequer of the bishops of Winchester of the early thirteenth century, giving the audited accounts of about forty manors. It is the second of a series that runs, with some gaps, from 1208 to 1454. The first was edited by Hubert Hall forty years ago, and his edition (though far from satisfactory) helped to make the series well known to students of medieval estate management. Accounts of any kind of so early a date are exceedingly rare; the bishop of Winchester's "pipe rolls" are famous as much the earliest substantial series of manorial rolls—the earliest substantial series of account rolls of any kind except from the royal Exchequer. Their value is much enhanced by forming a continuous series, but they are so sizable that one cannot hope for an edition of a long run of them, and a reliable text of one will prove most helpful to students of the other rolls and is in itself a useful contribution to the study of medieval accounts, manorial economy, and administration. Mr. Holt is chiefly interested in the administration of the bishop's estates. Most of his introduction is concerned with the organization of the bishop's revenues, the bishop's administrative officers, and his courts. There is indeed a careful account of the structure of the roll, and some comparisons are made with other rolls and systems of account of the middle and late thirteenth century. But the editor specifically says that he has "made no attempt . . . to comment on the economic aspect of the roll," and he does not enter at all deeply into its place in the history of accounting. Nor does he appear to have had the opportunity to study closely other unprinted rolls in the same series. He makes a useful contribution to the history of episcopal administration from a type of source unusual for its date and to seignorial administration in general, even if one allows that estate management under the bishops of Winchester—men of exceptional wealth, financiers like Henry of Blois, or great royal officials like Richard of Ilchester, Godfrey de Lucy, and Peter des Roches—may have been very advanced for its day.

University of Liverpool C. N. L. BROOKE

LA VIE PAROISSIALE EN FRANCE AU XIV^e^ SIÈCLE. By *Paul Adam.* Preface by *G. Le Bras.* [Histoire et sociologie de l'Église, Volume III.] ([Paris:] Sirey. 1964. Pp. 327. 26 fr.) In accordance with the fashions of a former day the author of this book on the parish life of the French church during the fourteenth century might well have

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added to his title: *d'après les statuts synodaux*. M. Adam has collected about 130 sets of provincial and diocesan statutes which form the substance of his study. To these he has added the few existing registers of episcopal visitations and the opinions of some contemporary moralists. Although aware of the unevenness of the chronological and geographical distribution of the materials, he has benefited from far richer sources than were available to Madame Olga Dobiache-Rojdestvensky when she produced in 1911 her parallel study on the thirteenth century. By carefully reading and organizing the materials Adam has created a composite tableau that agrees in broad strokes with what we know from other sources, namely, that the fourteenth century was an age of misery for the French church. In greater detail we can see how the centralization of the Avignonese papacy interfered with parochial life, how the schism accentuated the abuses of excommunication, and how the Hundred Years' War brought physical devastation to the church. Even the Huizinga thesis of the contemporary preoccupation with death finds here vivid illustration. The author has only followed his materials where they led. For example, he has much less on the organization of the underlying parish system which was tacitly assumed in the statutes than on the features of the more incidental confraternities for which evidence is more abundant. But other questions will arise and seek answers that are not readily apparent from these materials. Adam has limited his study to the fourteenth century, a chronological slice that finds slight justification in church history. Were the traits of this period new and significant changes or simply prolongations of the preceding century? What was their later issue? How representative are the local samples from which the composite picture is drawn? Finally and most important, when the nature and biases of these synodical statutes are considered, what is their value as historical evidence for religious practice? These are difficult questions that historians cannot avoid.

Johns Hopkins University JOHN W. BALDWIN

THE EARLY ROLLS OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD: WITH AN APPENDIX OF THIRTEENTH-CENTURY OXFORD CHARTERS. Edited by *J. R. L. Highfield*. [Sevenhundredth Anniversary Volume.] (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press. 1964. Pp. xix, 484.) This fascinating collection is a valuable contribution to the history of medieval universities. The first document is the will of Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester (1274–1277) and founder of Merton College (1264). The accounts of Walter's executors that follow are especially important, not only as the earliest surviving accounts of the executors of an English bishop but because they give much more than the final audit or consolidated account available in other contemporary executors' accounts. The rest of the volume presents the rolls of college officers before 1300, that is, memorandums and accounts of the wardens, subwardens, bursars, and others. The editor provides an introduction devoted to the career of Walter and the early years of Merton College. Walter had nephews whose several parents could not afford their education in a style appropriate to his own advancement in life; as chancellor (before becoming bishop) Walter also was a loyal royalist in the troubled times of the baronial ascendancy under Simon de Montfort, and his estates were apt to be ravaged by antiroyalists. The resolution of this situation was a happy one for the university at Oxford. Walter transferred some of his property (and later, more estates) to the politically neutral possession of a college consisting of a warden and two or three priests for the support of twenty scholars at Oxford, priority being given to scholars of his own kin. With the acquisition of property in Oxford itself, this *domus scholarium* became Merton College. The endowment of the college included many advowsons, the value and revenues of which were a significant part of the total. Although it is a small point, it may be worth noting that Walter's "first known employment in the royal service," in July 1240, involved more than merely holding inquests in manors of the royal demesne of

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four counties; he also, with an associate, was responsible for replacing bailiffs and committing royal manors to the custody of, and sometimes at farm by, tenants of the manors. In other words, by 1240 Walter had risen a bit higher than is suggested by the editor's otherwise accurate account.

University of Minnesota ROBERT S. HOYT

THE TRIAL OF WALTER LANGTON, BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, 1307–1312. By *Alice Beardwood.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LIV, Part 3.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1964. Pp. 45. $1.50.) In thirteenth-century England a skillful and unscrupulous royal administrator could accumulate a large personal fortune by using the powers of high office to interfere in the litigation of great barons. So long as the king's minister enjoyed his monarch's support, he could bully and threaten with impunity, alter and forge documents, give and receive bribes, intimidate judges and juries, and twist to his own advantage every legal technicality. Furthermore he might obtain a bishopric and hold other Church offices as well. At any rate, such a man was Langton, bishop of Coventry, Lichfield, and Chester, who rose through the ranks from wardrobe clerk to become treasurer (1285) and principal minister of Edward I in the last years of his reign. While Edward protected him, Langton safely brushed aside the resentment of his victims, but Edward's death in 1307 immediately exposed Langton to arrest and trial. Thanks to Alice Beardwood's careful examination of the trial records, we have an elaborate case study in the administrative and legal history of Edward I's reign. As treasurer Langton could influence the appointment of sheriffs and Exchequer personnel. From his agents he learned about litigation touching property interests in large estates. He might then interfere, using his power to influence court decisions so that he would obtain a share of the proceeds. Whenever he was charged with champerty or maintenance, he might admit it, but also answer that he had a royal pardon. By these and other methods he acquired land in at least sixteen counties. The complexities of Langton's operations, as revealed in the course of his trial, cannot be fully summarized in a review of this scope, but the entire proceeding will be of value for any serious student of medieval administrative history. Other scholars have discussed champerty, maintenance, and the uses of the Statute of Merchants, but in the account of Langton's trial we have an exceptionally full and well-documented treatment of a medieval spoilsman at work. The author has taken the trouble to identify many of the people on whom Langton preyed with royal license. The fact that Edward I steadily backed his treasurer for eleven years throws a side light on the character of Edward. This point might have been more fully developed, but, as it stands, the alliance of Edward and Langton will make interesting reading for anyone who has depended entirely on the accounts of Edward I in the writing of Stubbs and his followers.

Indiana University ARTHUR R. HOGUE

MICHELE DA PIAZZA E IL POTERE BARONALE IN SICILIA. By *Salvatore Tramontana.* [Università degli Studi di Messina, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Magistero, Number 4.] (Messina: Casa Editrice G. d'Anna. 1963. Pp. 331. L. 5,000.) Like many medieval men, Michele da Piazza is something of an enigma; we know him only as the author of a Sicilian chronicle covering the period 1337–1361. The first half of this monograph is concerned with problems of textual criticism. Besides suggesting a number of interesting suppositions about the author, Tramontana demonstrates the inadequacies of Rosario Gregorio's edition and tells us, repeatedly in fact, that he has a new one in hand. But he fails to resolve the problems of the manuscript tradition, is often irrelevant and banal, and sometimes open to more serious criticism. In the remainder of the book Michele's *Historia Sicula* has been analyzed

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for evidence on the political and economic conditions of *trecento* Sicily. With imagination and skill, as well as an understanding of the sources and literature for the period, the author has drawn a composite picture of the island in the middle of the fourteenth century and in so doing has made a significant contribution to our understanding of a difficult and turbulent era. Michele emerges as a spirited Sicilian patriot who sought to rally support behind weak Aragonese kings to secure Sicily externally against continuing papal-Angevin pretensions and to overcome feudal and communal particularism internally. But unfortunately the destiny of the island was otherwise. A handful of great baronial families—the *semireguli,* to employ Michele's suggestive term—used the king as a pawn in factional strife, accused men of treason to confiscate their lands, speculated in grain prices, and undermined communal institutions. In the end they came to dominate the kingdom, but only by destroying the monarchy as an effective institution and ruining the island's economy. "What is left to the King," Michele asks, "if the barons acquire his whole realm and jurisdiction?" And in another characteristic passage he remarks that all men could live together in peace if two words "yours" and "mine" were banished from the face of the earth. Michele da Piazza, in short, has left an uncommonly animated chronicle; students of Mediterranean history will be indebted to Tramontana for an adequate critical edition of his work.

Wayne State University EDWIN C. HALL

NICHOLAS OF CUSA AND MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Paul E. Sigmund.* [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 335. $6.95.) This study provides a clear, well-informed, and in many ways valuable and perceptive study of Nicholas of Cusa as a political theorist. Nicholas is placed within hierarchic, canonist, and philosophical traditions, and he emerges as a moderate conciliarist, trying to achieve a judicious balance between conciliar consent and papal authority. He also emerges as a terrible bore, so judicious and balanced as to be quite uninteresting and even rather irrelevant to the agonies of the fifteenth century. It is in this regard—the placing of Nicholas within the desperate, confused world of the fifteenth century—that Sigmund's careful study is lacking. The author tells us that Nicholas was continually looking for harmony and diversity, and "when he did not find it in the council, he turned to the pope." In recent years, partly under the inspiration of the new liberal Catholicism, the conciliarists have been rediscovered and their wisdom and learning celebrated in several studies. This book is one of the best of these studies. But what is ignored here, as in other similar works, is how futile the conciliarist theory was in dealing with the extremism, violence, and social neurosis of the fifteenth century. These doctrines had about as much to do with realities of fifteenth-century political life as the hopeful visions of middle-class English liberals when faced with the rise of authoritarianism and irrationalism in the late nineteenth century. Similarly, the conciliarists' theorizing was naïve and futile. All their learned attempts to perpetuate medieval hierarchic thought while making room for an element of representation and consent constituted the intellectuals' politics of despair, and Machiavelli developed a despairing doctrine that was far more relevant to the circumstances of the age.

Columbia University NORMAN F. CANTOR

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE HISTORY. Volume I. Edited by *William M. Bowsky.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1964. Pp. 292. $5.50.) This first volume in what is planned as an annual publication devoted to European history from the fourth through the sixteenth century gets the series off to a very good start. In the first article Gaines Post discusses the word "status" in the writings of

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Romanists, canonists, and theologians from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, especially the way in which what lawyers said about the *status regis* and the *status regni* contributed to the confusion of the prince's duty with the prince's possession. He then returns to problems of *lestat du roi* in the Statute of York, expanding on the conclusion reached in his older study of the statute, that this phrase refers to the king's "public *status*" and is, in the theory of the time, inseparable from the *status regni* meaning the public good, "the business of the people in the community of the realm." Finally he considers the "inalienability clause" in the English coronation oath. All this is presented with Post's usual wealth of citations from a large number of sources, but is unfortunately marred by a style that is not always clear, especially in the first part, and may easily lead to misinterpretation if the reader does not pay close attention to the author's concluding remarks. It will be required reading for any serious student of medieval and Renaissance political thought. In the second article Howard Kaminsky presents translations of two treatises by the Taborite Peter Chelčický: "On the Triple Division of Society" and "On the Holy Church." In a lucid introduction he discusses Peter's position on the "evangelical left" of the Hussite movement and analyzes his ideas on social order and on the Eucharist. The translations are fluent; they are also presumably accurate. In the third article J. R. Major gives a bibliographical survey and an extensive guide based on research *in situ* to archival materials on French local and provincial assemblies in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Of the study by M. M. Fryde on the public credit of German principalities and towns we are given only a first installment, astounding in a publication supposedly expressly devoted to articles too long for regular journals. After an introductory discussion of the administration and composition of German princely finances in the Middle Ages, Fryde presents a chronological account of the development of financial administration in the duchy of Brunswick from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Studies of Bavaria and Württemberg are to follow.

Amherst College FREDRIC CHEYETTE

Modern Europe

THE RENAISSANCE RECONSIDERED: A SYMPOSIUM. By *Leona Gabel et al.* [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XLIV.] (Northhampton, Mass.: [the College.] 1964. Pp. v, 110. $2.00.) "The Renaissance Reconsidered" is an appropriate theme for a symposium honoring Leona Gabel, a medievalist who became an inspiring teacher of "The Age of Renaissance and the Reformation" at Smith College and editor of the *Memoirs* of Pius II. Her own lively piece and that of the art historian Ruth W. Kennedy are the high points of the collection. Gabel characterizes the fifteenth-century papacy as an institution trying to rebuild its old European power according to new secular criteria: political strength in Italy, business success, artistic and literary patronage. Thus, Lapo da Castiglionchio could eulogize the *Curia* in 1438 as a splendid source of worldly benefits for the humanist and, when reminded by a bishop of apostolic poverty, answer without irony that "no age can live by the standards of the past." Kennedy shows that the enthusiasm for ancient art in Rome was in part an unanticipated consequence of policies initiated by Martin V for traditional or strictly practical reasons. A Colonna could be expected to care about Rome and a pope about magnificence. Streets and churches had to be repaired if worshipers were to come to Rome. And, as Kennedy says, "once you start digging in the soil of Rome, something interesting is bound to turn up." Martin had to import artists and secretaries simply to get his work done. The impact of Rome upon them and the mutual influence between artist and humanist led to a new stage in the Renaissance. Sidney Packard re-

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tells the familiar story of changing views of the Renaissance through his own experiences as student and teacher. A lofty Crocean essay by Max Salvadori makes political liberty the condition for the mental freedom of the Italian Renaissance. He warns us in advance, however, not to take him too seriously: "except as a creation of the mind, there is no such thing as the Renaissance." A suggestive article by Guenter Lewy explores the complementary relations between theories of political resistance and free will on the one hand and those of political obedience and determinism on the other. Ruth L. Kennedy painstakingly lays bare the satire in Tirso de Molina's *La fingida Arcadia* against dramatists who were adulterating the theater with spectacular machinery and against their protector, the Count of Olivares, who was adulterating the currency. Though these last two articles have value, their authors have not related them to the theme of the symposium.

University of Toronto NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS

BRITAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS. Volume II, PAPERS DELIVERED TO THE ANGLO–DUTCH HISTORICAL CONFERENCE, 1962. Edited by *J. S. Bromley* and *E. H. Kossmann*. [Historische Studies uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 20.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1964. Pp. 229. Glds. 13.90.) The subject of these papers is not Anglo-Dutch relations. They are not, except in a few instances, essays in comparative history (Christopher Hill asks why English Puritans put more stress upon the keeping of the Sabbath than Calvinists on the Continent; Roorda points out that the secular power was ultimately dominant in both countries in the course of the seventeenth century, despite their very different religious histories; Wieringa invites attention to the paradox of Dutch industrial expansion during England's long depression). Otherwise, except Romein's posthumous essay on "Change and Continuity in History," all treat domestic problems; three have to do with England, the rest with the Netherlands. Romein said his purpose was to persuade historians to make specialized and analytical studies, not for their own sakes, but because the larger story of continuity and change is made up of a "series of microprocesses working in the brains and hearts of men." It was "along this road," he hoped, that "we can try to catch up where in my opinion our science of history is lagging behind." All his examples are drawn from the history of ideas, none from such materialist sources as economic history. This is a curious outcome for a historian who professed to be a Marxist. But he seems not to have converted any of the other contributors to his special brand of *Geistesgeschichte*. Yet the other ten possess a unity rare in papers at historical conferences. This consists partly in the spirit that they have in common: one of zestful challenge to old assumptions. They are united too in that they are all studies in economic and social history, in the period from the fifteenth century to the Industrial Revolution. Specialized and analytical they are, but they are also significant contributions to the larger story of continuity and change, and thus a worthy monument to the memory of Romein.

University of Washington GORDON GRIFFITHS

ARNOLD RUGES PLAN EINER ALLIANCE INTELLECTUELLE ZWISCHEN DEUTSCHEN UND FRANZOSEN. By *Beatrix Mesmer-Strupp*. (Bern: Verlag Herbert Lang. 1963. Pp. 161. 15 fr. S.) More broadly conceived than the title suggests, this essay is a concise analysis of Ruge's intellectual development until about 1845. We meet the young Hegelian radicals, and we gain an insight into their problems with the censorship and with the officially Christian German Prussia of the late 1830's and early 1840's. Ruge's project for an alliance between French and German democratic intellectuals grew practically out of the suppression of his *Deutsche Jahrbücher* in Germany, theoretically out of his conviction that the philosophical emancipation of the

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German radicals, particularly their critique of religion, ought to be combined with the political experience of the French Left to create an at once thorough and realistic ideology of humanistic and political enlightenment for Western Europe. When he arrived in Paris in 1843, Ruge found the leaders of the French Left less responsive than he had hoped. They were prepared to guide the German democrats and to discuss the problem of the left bank of the Rhine. Feuerbach, however, did not interest them, particularly since they knew that many of their countrymen were good Catholics. The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* the vehicle of the projected alliance, received no French contributions, ran into financial difficulties, and threatened in any case to slip into the control of Ruge's coeditor Marx, who was just then preparing to break with the humanistic tradition of the German radical Left. These are the outlines of an account that the author develops with much tact. The documentation seems thorough, and the writing is almost always clear. Above all, the general comments upon the logical and psychological bases of German radicalism are sophisticated and quite convincing. Ruge's obligation to German idealism and his *Bildungsliberalismus* (the liberalism of a humanistically oriented education and self-"cultivation") are the central themes of the analysis. These themes and indeed several of the author's thoughtful observations upon Ruge's intellectual environment should be valuable even to readers who are not specifically interested in Ruge himself.

Harvard University FRITZ K. RINGER

STOSUNKI POLSKO–NIEMIECKIE, 1926–1932 [Polish-German Relations, 1926–1932]. By *Jerzy Krasuski.* [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 7.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1964. Pp. 329. Zł. 50.) This volume is a simple continuation of the first (*AHR,* LXVIII [July 1963], 1121), following the same plan of organization and based on the same sources (the Archives of the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Archives for the New Records in Warsaw, the *Deutsches Zentralarchiv* in Potsdam, and the *Sächsisches Landeshauptarchiv* in Dresden). Whereas the first volume dealt with the more exciting first years of the Polish Republic, this one covers the comparatively uneventful period from Piłsudski's *coup d'état* to Hitler's accession to power—the least researched period in the history of Polish foreign policy between the two world wars. Unfortunately, this study provides little new information. It is far more explicit on Germany's well-known policy toward Poland than vice versa. Krasuski has not discovered any important documentary material on the aims and tactics of Piłsudski's German policy. The memorandum of the Polish minister in Berlin, K. Olszowski, concerning Germany's attitude toward Poland (December 1926) is about the only interesting document cited *in extenso* (a copy of it is to be found in the Hoover Library). Judging from this study, the Polish archives do not contain much material of real significance, for apparently most of it was destroyed during the war. Still, Krasuski should have said something about the state of these archives. In the preface he claims to have depicted Polish-German relations against the background of broad European policy because of their interdependence with those between Germany and the other Great Powers. Yet, actually, he confines himself to a discussion of French policy and to a lesser degree English, studiously refraining from even mentioning the Soviet Union as if it were possible to consider Polish-German relations objectively in abstraction from Russia. Krasuski describes internal developments in Germany at some length but not in Poland. He makes sweeping unsupported statements, particularly with regard to French and English policies. By far the greater part of the book consists of a detailed and tedious account of the endless Polish-German negotiations for ending the tariff war between the two countries and settling the various thorny questions pertaining to the German minority in Poland.

University of Hawaii ZYGMUNT GASIOROWSKI

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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLISH MUSIC. By *E. D. Mackerness.* [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1964. Pp. x, 307. $7.00.) The social history of music is something relatively new and requires unusual preparation, even though the materials that go into it may be familiar to a variety of specialists. The author of this survey of the English people's music from the Middle Ages to the present has a technical understanding of musical forms, though he is not primarily a musicologist, and he is widely read in the literature of music, though he is not much concerned with the lives of great composers and musicians, to which so much of this literature is devoted. E. D. Mackerness also knows about musical instruments and their development, though he is not committed to any theory of the place of technology in causing musical changes. It should be added that he is a lecturer in English literature at Sheffield University and writes effectively. This unusual combination of interests has produced a book that is difficult to fit into the usual categories of historical writing. It is not exactly music history; nor is it coherent social history, for music has often come to the people less as an end in itself than as a support for such disparate activities as church services, the commercial theater, civic festivals, and the BBC. The manufacture in quantity of pianos and other instruments was only a small part of industrialization, music instruction has always been on the periphery of formal education, and those who have made the songs of the people in modern times have not really expressed, much less directed, social changes. The book illustrates no sociological theory explaining musical forms beyond the common-sense assumption that there is a relationship between social conditions and musical expression. The author has described the changing musical tastes of Englishmen in their social setting and produced a well-written survey, full of curious information and shrewd comment—something to be read with interest rather subjected to rigorous analysis.

Mills College FRANCIS H. HERRICK

ANGLICAN AND PURITAN: THE BASIS OF THEIR OPPOSITION, 1558–1640. By *John F. H. New.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. 140. $4.50.) This essay rejects the view that the opposition between Anglican and Puritan is to be interpreted in secular terms, as a struggle basically over the authority of the church and ultimately over the royal supremacy in both church and state. Instead, Professor New argues that from the beginning the issues were doctrinal, reflecting in turn fundamental differences in philosophy and theology: the nature of man, the concept of the visible and invisible church, the nature of grace, and the role of the sacraments in relation to grace. For example, the morality of Puritanism, its "activism," its "exegetical habit," in contrast to Anglican "temperance, conservatism, patristic interpretation of Scripture, and communal rationalism," were in fact reflections of fundamentally different views of human nature. Again, the conflict over church government and the relation of the church to the state were the result of the Anglican retention of "the traditional dichotomy between the visible and invisible Church," in opposition to the Puritan identification of the two churches. And again, liturgical differences, the contrasting emphasis upon the pulpit as opposed to the altar, upon scriptural reading as against scriptural exposition, stemmed from a doctrinal divergence, the Anglican belief that the sacraments were an effective means of grace versus the Puritan belief that "the Eucharist merely authenticated the prevenient grace already given." New argues convincingly (in opposition to the conclusions of Charles and Katherine George's *The Protestant Mind*) that these differences were so basic as to be in the end insurmountable. His contention that the differences were clearly present from the beginning of the period, however, is to be seriously questioned. It is true that Cranmer and Jewel held views that later Anglicans would develop in opposition to Puritanism. But they did not, and, because of their deep conviction of the necessity

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and indeed the reality of Anglican unity, they could not regard these differences as fundamental. *Anglican and Puritan* provides a valuable corrective for the historian who would stress the political and economic factors at the expense of the religious and doctrinal. And it will be especially welcomed for the clarity and moderation with which the author presents a technical and highly controversial subject.

Denison University W. M. Southgate

ELIZABETHAN PRIVATEERING: ENGLISH PRIVATEERING DURING THE SPANISH WAR, 1585–1603. By *Kenneth R. Andrews.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 297. $7.50.) Elizabethan "privateering"—the term did not come into use until the seventeenth century—dominated the sea war with Spain that conditioned the last quarter of the reign of Elizabeth I. Its importance in the annals of sea warfare lies in the integral rather than the subsidiary role that it played in the war from which England emerged as a major sea power. "Throughout much of the mediaeval and early modern periods," Mr. Andrews reminds us, "privateering was no more than an incidental concomitant of war." In the late sixteenth-century struggle between England and Spain, however, "it was the characteristic form of maritime warfare, the essential embodiment of the private initiative and enterprise that dominated the sea war." Andrews' book shows how this quasi-private warfare is "to be distinguished from plain piracy on the one hand and from the semi-official enterprises of the sea war on the other" and demonstrates the difference between its theoretical regulation and its practical organization. With the evidence of much fresh detail, the study proves that Sir William Monson was wrong when he claimed in his *Naval Tracts* that privateering did not pay. The spectrum of privateers, from great merchants through amateur adventurers to "one Flud, a valiant and skilful pirate, weary as he protesteth of his former trade," and the escalation of their activity would indicate tempting returns on the risk, substantiated by Andrews' statistics. Among the many useful services of his book are tables of costs and profits and an appendix listing privateers, ships, and prizes by ports of origin from 1589 to 1591. Not all scholars will agree with some of Andrews' political interpretations, particularly his notion that it was the Queen's "craving for peace" that motivated the government's apparent abdication to private initiative. But *Elizabethan Privateering* is an excellent book, succinctly written, that gives new information on the development of Elizabethan sea power and its impact upon the transitional geopolitics of the late sixteenth century.

Folger Library Elaine W. Fowler

ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, 1630 JUNE–1631 JUNE. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1964. Pp. viii, 467. $28.00.) Four years have passed since the publication of the preceding volume in this important series, and the price has risen from $19.30 to $28.00. It is unfortunate that the preparation of the Privy Council Registers for publication cannot be accelerated and the price cannot be kept reasonable. During the personal rule of Charles I the Privy Council was the pivot of government. Between June 1, 1630, and June 29, 1631, it met ninety-nine times. Charles I attended only three meetings, however, compared to his nine appearances from May 1629 through May 1630. Among those playing more prominent roles than before in policy making were Lord Weston and William Laud. The paternal nature of Charles I's government becomes more apparent in this volume. About one-fourth of the entries are concerned in some way with the poor. There are numerous orders on corn supply directed to justices of the peace, sheriffs, and mayors. The Privy Council attempted to keep corn prices low, and the supply steady. Frequently local officers were reprimanded for failing in this endeavor. In September 1630 a Book of Orders on Corn was published and distributed to jus-

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tices and sheriffs. Although orders against enclosure were issued, the Privy Council found it necessary to rebuke the justices of the peace and the sheriffs of Dorset and Wiltshire for failing to suppress riots. Perhaps the most significant and far-reaching action taken by the council during this thirteen-month period was the issuance of the Book of Orders and Directions on the Poor on January 31, 1631. The government was determined to enforce the Elizabethan Poor Law and devised the mechanics for the coordination of local and central government. Although the actions taken by the Privy Council appear to exude self-confidence, there is some evidence that orders were not being executed on the local level.

University of Richmond JOHN R. RILLING

THE QUAKERS IN PURITAN ENGLAND. By *Hugh Barbour*. With a foreword by *Roland H. Bainton*. [Yale Publications in Religion, Number 7.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 272. $6.00.) "Yonder comes a Quaker, throw stones at him." This advice, delivered by a bystander at Henley was all too frequently carried out in the lifetime of George Fox. Lay hostility was reinforced by a steady current of abuse from beneficed ministers. That Quakerism survived infancy is more a testimony of the devotion of its professors than it is attributable to the vaunted toleration of the Protectorate. The main outline of the formative years, roughly the period 1647–1662, is well known. The volume of printed and manuscript materials will suggest one of the main problems for the modern writer. More than eighteen thousand Quaker titles were published up to 1867, together with a large number of anti-Quaker tracts. A rich collection of letters exists in the Swarthmore manuscripts. Monographs abound, and there are several important unpublished dissertations. Mr. Barbour has drawn on all of these. The justification for his book is twofold: that recent studies of Puritanism have made possible a truer grasp of its relation to Quakerism, and that the preoccupation of the older historians with the narration of events leaves room for a fresh examination of Quaker experiences from a theological point of view. A preliminary chapter, marred by several doubtful generalizations and errors of fact, combines the narrative history of the revolutionary era with a discussion of the main tenets of Puritanism. Succeeding chapters deal with special topics. It is shown, for example, that the northern counties were "the crucial region of early Quakerism." The strength of Fox's following here is illustrated with maps. The contrast between their popularity in the north and the coldness with which they were received in the southeast is striking. The re-examination of Quaker spiritual experiences has certainly been successfully achieved. Drawing on countless spiritual diaries Barbour has carefully analyzed the many implications of the doctrine of the inward light. The experience of inner conflict, the change in daily living, the struggle against the sins of the world, and the gradual working out of the doctrines of toleration and peace are treated with great skill. Because Quakers regarded themselves as exempt from man-made law, their writings on the state were not very useful and led to an impasse. The solution was their "Peace Testimony," love for one's enemy, a force the age hardly knew how to combat. Nor were they logical in their handling of the theme of toleration since they made no distinction between religious liberty and total conversion. Their contribution to its achievement is unquestionable, however, and consisted not only of willingness to suffer but pamphleteering; they wrote more pamphlets on toleration than any other group. A concluding chapter reviews the later reformist activities of Friends: education, pacifism, antislavery, prison reform, and business ethics. The combination of apocalyptic vision and formless illiteracy in Quaker writers makes hard reading in a book that is overgenerous with quotations, but no reader is likely to be unmoved by their spiritual exultation.

Vanderbilt University P. H. HARDACRE

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ENGINEERS, INVENTORS AND WORKERS. By *P. W. Kingsford.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. 272. $4.95.) In this unpretentious work of collective biography, Dr. Kingsford attempts to show that "Britain became a great industrial nation because of her ability to make tools and machinery . . . [and] . . . wealthy because of her engineers and inventors." He uses the British Isles from 1700 to 1945 as his setting and describes twenty-four ironmakers, steam engine inventors, road and bridge builders, toolmakers, railway engineers, steelmakers, and motive power inventors whose names are traditionally associated with the Industrial Revolution. Although restricting himself to about ten pages for each biography, Kingsford achieves penetrating insights into the need for the inventions and the steps taken to accomplish them; his treatment of Watt and the steam engine, Stephenson and the railway, and Parsons and the steam turbine are noteworthy. Several accounts, such as those of Nasmyth and his steam hammer and Lanchester and his work in aerodynamics, are useful because of the author's concern with the consequences of invention. Unfortunately, the four chapters on trade-unions and employers' associations do not satisfactorily complement the remainder of the book. This is hardly a work of reference, for there are no footnotes, the lists of additional readings are inadequate, and in several places Kingsford does not go beyond the material provided in Volume IV of Singer's *A History of Technology.* Yet it is a suitable addition to that growing body of works designed to acquaint the student and public with the significant role of technology in modern society.

West Chester State College ROBERT E. CARLSON

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE WILTSHIRE TEXTILE TRADES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by *Julia De L. Mann.* [Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch, Volume XIX.] (Devizes: [the Society.] 1964. Pp. xxxi, 192. £2 10*s*.) This admirably edited publication is a compendium, covering the years between 1726 and 1775, of the business papers of John Usher and John Jeffries, clothiers of Trowbridge; George Wansey, clothier of Warminster; and Henry Hindley, linen merchant of Mere. Though there are some items of general interest, notably a vivid picture of the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 in the Wansey Papers, most of the material consists of rather dull business minutiae, from which only the specialist can evoke larger significance. But it gives a variety of information on such important aspects of the west country protoindustrial textile economy as the difficulty of maintaining standards, the narrow margins of profit, the increasing dependence on London merchants for credit with which to build the trade, and the increasing uncertainties of the Portuguese, Hamburg, and American markets in conditions of war, high insurance and shipping rates, unsalable commodity returns, and economic nationalism. The editor's introduction is a small masterpiece of guidance and illustration, and the whole work is a fine example of local history at its best providing the substructure for broader studies.

University of British Columbia JOHN NORRIS

THE ROYAL MALADY. By *Charles Chenevix Trench.* ([London:] Longmans. 1964. Pp. x, 224. 30*s*.) In 1963 there appeared a book by John W. Derry that described in detail the parliamentary history of the regency crisis of 1788–1789 (see *AHR,* LXIX [July 1964], 1125). Now Trench has produced a book that complements Derry's work by dealing at length with George III's bout with insanity, which was the occasion of the constitutional crisis. Where Derry concentrated on the events at Westminster, Trench concentrates on Windsor and Kew where the unhappy monarch lived out the months of his illness and his recovery. On the basis of the unpublished diaries of Sir George Baker, the doctor who first treated the King, and of Dr.

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John Willis, who, together with his father, presided over the King's recovery, Trench has attempted to pierce the fog of rumor generated by the opposition's hopes and the government's fears concerning the seriousness and duration of George's illness. From these diaries and from the tittle-tattle of the court, Trench sets forth the sometimes ludicrous, sometimes pitiful, often trivial, and rather tedious record of the King's illness, its course, and its treatment. The carelessness and inaccuracy that mar the author's quotations from his published sources make it difficult to attach much value to his use of the manuscript sources. In any case what there might be of real historical, biographical, and medical importance here could have been put forward in far briefer form.

Williams College DUDLEY W. R. BAHLMAN

MATTHEW ARNOLD AND THE THREE CLASSES. By *Patrick J. McCarthy.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 257. $5.00.) This scholarly and well-written book is a political and social study of Matthew Arnold, an attempt to illuminate his "world of ideas" by examining his "world of practice." Professor McCarthy begins by studying Arnold as molded by his father and by Oxford and accepts Arnold's view of himself as more or less classless, with the prepossessions of a clergyman's son educated among the aristocracy. The heart of the book considers Arnold's actual relations with, and practical views of, the three classes analyzed in *Culture and Anarchy:* "the barbarians" (the aristocracy), "the Philistines" (the middle class, especially the Dissenting middle class), and "the populace." The concluding chapter deals with Arnold's concern with Irish problems in the 1880's and his denunciations of Gladstone and democracy. The book is more valuable for students of Arnold than for students of Victorian England. McCarthy develops his carefully defined theme, however, with clarity and good judgment, and the exceptional readability of the book should gain it a wide audience. As a liberal-minded modern American, McCarthy is able to view Arnold's opinions and actions with critical detachment. He shows how Arnold applied different standards to different classes in order to blame one class (the Dissenters) and excuse another (the aristocracy). On the other hand, the author seems unhistorical at times, as in his surprise at the basic "conservatism" of nineteenth-century liberals such as Dr. Arnold. Both Arnolds were typical of the age in their devotion to social order and in their fear of popular revolt. Two political figures are seen to be of special importance in Arnold's life: William E. Forster, his brother-in-law, and Lord Lansdowne, his patron and initiator into public life. McCarthy does more than is customary with the Forster relationship and suggests that Forster had a marked influence on Arnold's Irish views. The Forster-Arnold connection, also significant in education, needs to be more fully explored on a scale not possible in this interesting work.

Ripon College JOHN F. GLASER

THE CAREER OF ARTHUR HAMILTON GORDON, FIRST LORD STANMORE, 1829–1912. By *J. K. Chapman.* ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 387. $8.50.) Sir Arthur Gordon, governor for nearly thirty years (1861–1890) of a succession of British colonies, is one of the larger figures in the somewhat dim procession of the men who made the British Empire what it was. Three of his colonies are now independent members of the Commonwealth. Gordon was the youngest son of the Earl of Aberdeen and a man of conscience and of high and honorable ambition. Moving naturally in the highest political circles, he was willing to make governing a career, though he failed to reach his highest goal, the viceroyalty of India. His experiences, his achievements, and his frustrations give valuable insight into the actual nature of the varied, complex, and important struggles and transitions that we dignify

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by the term "imperialism." Professor Chapman's study is based primarily on the carefully preserved papers of Gordon himself and on the Colonial Office records in the Public Record Office. The result is a sort of test boring to produce samples of the problems and personalities underlying the surface data of the historical surveys. Thus in his first post, New Brunswick, the aristocratic and very British young man, still without a wife, found himself shy and gauche, as unable as he was unwilling to come to easily cordial terms with the narrowly provincial politicians who dominated the province in the early days of responsible government. He found them selfish and corrupt and chafed tremendously at his inability to get things done. For Gordon was fully happy only when acting according to his strong convictions, and in a self-governing colony there was no role for a benevolent autocrat, however able. His later experience in New Zealand was even more painful for him than New Brunswick. His other governorships—Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, and Ceylon—were always busy and frequently controversial. He conceived it his duty to promote the material and moral development of the native peoples entrusted to British care. When faced by entrenched European interests, his term of office was difficult for all concerned, and the Colonial Office had to be patient with his sensitivity and occasional highhandedness. But he accomplished much, and while examination of the five or six years of a governor's term can show neither the beginnings nor the end of a colony's main problems, Chapman's thorough study is, nonetheless, illuminating. In Fiji especially (and indeed in the whole area of the Western Pacific High Commission) Gordon's work was of lasting and fortunate significance.

Clark University H. Donaldson Jordan

BRITAIN AND THE LABOR TRADE IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC. By *O. W. Parnaby.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 234. $6.25.) Professor Parnaby has filled a gap in British imperial history with his comprehensive study of the recruitment of laborers from the South Pacific islands and their conditions of employment in Queensland and Fiji. He covers the whole period from the beginning of the trade in the 1860's to its termination in 1906 and examines in detail the policy of the local authorities and that of the Queensland and the British governments. The author gives a clear account of an intricate and confused development. He has made a careful study of all the source material, and he is markedly impartial. The start of the problem was the need for labor on the sugar plantations of Queensland. The planters employed locally owned ships to recruit volunteers from the unsophisticated tribes of the South Pacific islands. Many came of their own free will, but there were cases of kidnaping and murder, and the missionaries bombarded the Colonial Office with demands that the traffic be suppressed. The Colonial Office was anxious to help, but it lacked the legal right and the organized machinery of government to control British subjects who operated among independent islands. The only remedy was annexation, and eventually this had to be done. For a long time, however, the British government refused to adopt this solution. The Colonial Office fumblingly evolved various palliatives, but since all of them involved spending money the imperial Treasury fought them relentlessly. A further complication was that Queensland had responsible government and was jealously aware of its status. The Colonial Office had to be meticulously careful to avoid offending colonial susceptibilities. Eventually Britain annexed the islands, the Australian working class imposed the white Australia policy, and "blackbirding" came to an end.

Acadia University Lennox A. Mills

THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Carl F. Brand.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. 340. $7.50.) Carl F. Brand's *British*

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Labour's Rise to Power (1941) was a penetrating collection of essays that almost literally pioneered the serious study of the British labor movement in this country. It seems fitting, therefore, now that he has been promoted to a very active emeritus status, that he should sum up his many years of research and reflection with a compact history of the Labour party. Successfully aimed at the general reader, this succinct study concentrates on the development of the party after World War I when Labour became for the first time a significant independent political force. Brand is at his best in demonstrating, with sympathy yet with scholarly care, how the policies and programs accepted by the majority of the party were shaped into a constitutional and moderate mold by such leaders as Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson, Ernest Bevin and Clement Attlee, Hugh Gaitskell and, somewhat surprisingly in view of his earlier career, Harold Wilson. He makes his own judgment clear that this was the proper road to power and effective direction of governmental policy, but in the process tends to pay somewhat less than adequate attention to the dissident and minority movements within the party that offered alternatives to the aims and procedures actually adopted. It is only fair to add that Brand's understating of the often deep and bitter conflicts within the party is quite deliberate since he is mainly concerned with official positions and policies. Yet the result sometimes conceals the real juices running within the body of British Labour and so obscures the unresolved tensions that are still so much a major characteristic of the movement. Issues such as those raised recently by Ralph Miliband in his *Parliamentary Socialism* (1961)—particularly the question whether the "socialism" of the long, long ago before World War II is achievable by the parliamentary means of the party majority—are not really tackled. But this is perhaps demanding too much. *The British Labour Party* is what its subtitle proclaims, "A Short History," and it is a good one.

Rutgers University HRW

BRITAIN'S CLANDESTINE SUBMARINES, 1914–1915. By *Gaddis Smith*. [Yale Historical Publication, Wallace Notestein Essays, Number 4.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 155. $4.50.) This book, which is tangential to a larger forthcoming study of Anglo-American-Canadian relations during World War I, is concerned with the fabrication of ten submarines at Canadian Vickers, Limited, in Montreal under contracts made by Charles M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation with the British Admiralty. These arrangements, made only after Bryan and Wilson decided that the manufacture of the vessels in the United States would be unneutral, had wide ramifications. Smith places the story against the background of Lord Fisher's decision to press for the building of submarines rather than for more dreadnoughts, as well as against the differences of opinion in the United States government concerning what kinds of trade were permissible under international law. It was more important that the Admiralty, without consulting the Canadian government, not only let contracts to an American firm at a time when the Canadian economy was depressed, but permitted Schwab to take over a Canadian shipbuilding firm's facilities and to employ American engineers and skilled laborers there. The British were slow to see that the Canadian government had any *locus* in the matter. Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, was incensed at this highhanded treatment; it gave him greater reason for agitating for a clear recognition of Canada's right to be heard in imperial councils and to have its economic needs, with respect to contracts, recognized by the United Kingdom. Here are all the elements of a good suspense story; Smith makes the most of them. He has used the Borden Papers, as well as those of other Canadian officials in the Public Archives of Canada, and records of Canadian Vickers, Limited. Among British sources cited are the papers of Fisher, Asquith, Bryce, Grey, and Spring-Rice. Materials from the State Department files and the papers of Bryan,

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Lansing, and Wilson are used. This is an interesting contribution to the study of the interaction of business and diplomacy.

Western Reserve University MARION C. SINEY

CORRESPONDANCE DE THÉODORE DE BÈZE. Volume III (1559–1561). Collected by *Hippolyte Aubert.* Published by *Henri Meylan* and *Alain Dufour.* [Société du Musée historique de la Réformation. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume LXI.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1963. Pp. 300. 48 fr. S.) During these three years Beza, who was rector of the Academy of Geneva and a close collaborator of Calvin, was becoming a figure of international importance in the Protestant movement. Kings and princes were among his correspondents and acquaintances. His most important activities in this period were centered on France, where he went in 1561 at the invitation of the Huguenots to participate in the Colloquy of Poissy. His letters provide a valuable source for the events of the colloquy, from the Protestant point of view, of course. After the colloquy had ended, he was detained in France for some time by the wishes of both the Queen Mother and the great Protestant nobles, which shows the great confidence they had in him. At the end of the year he was still in France. He foresaw clearly that the intolerance of the Catholics and the impatience of the Huguenots threatened France with civil war; his anxiety over this danger is shown in letter after letter. To avoid such a catastrophe, he urged the government to make concessions to the Huguenots and at the same time tried to restrain the zeal of his coreligionists, whose behavior, as he wrote to Calvin, frightened him more than that of their enemies. One of the letters contains a vivid account of an outbreak of violence between Catholics and Huguenots at which he himself was present. There are many letters between Beza and Calvin, which show the intimate and affectionate relationship between the two. They make clear Calvin's confidence in Beza, and the latter's unbounded reverence and admiration for Calvin. Although most of these letters have been published before, the superb editorial work makes this volume, like the two preceding ones in the series, invaluable. The footnotes provide a detailed guide to an understanding of the persons and incidents mentioned in the letters and to the relevant literature. Obscure passages are clarified, and mistakes and omissions of earlier writers and editors are corrected. These splendid volumes represent work of the highest order.

University of Kansas WILLIAM GILBERT

LES TRÉSORIERS DE FRANCE À L'ÉPOQUE DE LA FRONDE: CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DE L'ADMINISTRATION FINANCIÈRE SOUS L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. By *Jean-Paul Charmeil.* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard & Cie. 1964. Pp. xii, 592. 46 fr.) Before the intendants absorbed most of their functions, the *trésoriers de France* played a significant, if limited role in the local administration of the *ancien régime.* M. Charmeil has undertaken an important project in studying that declining role during the seventeenth century. Drawing on a wealth of source material, he describes in detail the changing functions of the *trésoriers,* particularly in the areas of taxation, royal domanial rights, and communications. A somewhat superficial treatment of the economic and social position of the *trésoriers* and an extensive chronicling of their relations with the crown and other administrative bodies of France round out the monograph. As a result, we now have a much clearer picture of the functions of the *trésoriers* before, during, and after their decline. It is regrettable that Charmeil's tendency to treat all facts and incidents equally has prevented him from examining fully some of the broader implications of his study. While we are presented with an impressive list of royal interventions in the *trésoriers*'s functions, it is largely left to the reader to infer the motives behind those royal actions. It should be possible, using the

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author's findings, to argue that the crown intervened time and again simply to maintain harmony between the various elements of the hierarchy of robe officials. Charmeil also seems to miss the fact that the crown often weakened the *trésoriers*'s powers quite unconsciously, as it sought to add income from their pockets. The author is equally reticent to draw firm and elaborate conclusions from his extensive research on the *esprit de corps* of the robe officials. It is again left to the reader to rearrange the facts of Charmeil's study into meaningful patterns. It would appear that robe solidarity waxed and waned according to local traditions and circumstances. Perhaps the author's slight partiality for the *trésoriers* prevents him from treating the subject fully. The weakest portions of the study are those concerned with the *Fronde* and the *trésoriers*'s position in society, although the author is not entirely to blame. Documentation on the *Fronde* is sketchy; a separate monograph on the social setting of the *trésoriers* would be needed to provide adequate treatment of that subject. Still, it is a distinct disappointment that the details of Charmeil's work obscure the fact that the *Fronde* was a crisis and turning point in the history of the *ancien régime*.

University of Southern California A. Lloyd Moote

LES PERIER DANS L'ISÈRE AU XIX^{e} SIÈCLE D'APRÈS LEUR CORRESPONDANCE FAMILIALE. By *Pierre Barral*. [Collection des cahiers d'histoire publiée par les Universités de Clermont, Lyon, Grenoble, Number 7.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. 245. 18 fr.) The Periers rank high among those upper-middle-class elites whose capacity to perpetuate themselves in spite of endemic political upheavals was brought out in Emmanuel Beau de Loménie's controversial *Les Responsabilités des dynasties bourgeoises*. Casimir Perier was Prime Minister during a crucial period of the July Monarchy (March 1831–May 1832), and his grandson, Jean Casimir-Perier, resigned in disgust after a brief tenure (June 1894–January 1895) as President of the Third Republic. In this study, Pierre Barral has chosen to center attention on the less exalted members of the clan who lived and worked in the family seat of the Isère. The author's comprehensive introductory sections and the copious quotations from letters gleaned in public and private archives give us unusual insight into the Periers' family life and social relations and their business and political activities. Characteristically, the Periers displayed a strong sense of family solidarity, they were usually successful in enlarging a substantial patrimony, and, while of varying political allegiance, they were unswerving in the belief that "there was no conflict between their own interests and those of the nation" and that "the direction of the affairs of state should be entrusted to the *notables*." The transition passages are scrupulously documented, and the correspondence is carefully annotated. The bibliography, index, and genealogical tables are most useful. As might be expected of a scholar who has made important contributions to the historiography of Grenoble and the Isère, Barral shows complete command of his subject. Unfortunately, like so many of their counterparts, the Periers were not a particularly exciting lot. In fact, they were more often than not priggish and humorless. This makes for rather heavy going as we follow this worthy family through a hundred years of history. Barral's solid and scholarly work will thus be consulted with profit by the specialist, rather than read for pleasure by the general student of French history.

Drexel Institute of Technology Samuel M. Osgood

LACORDAIRE: A BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY. By *Lancelot C. Sheppard*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. xi, 184. $6.95.) This brief account of one of the leading religious figures of nineteenth-century France, a close associate of Lamennais and Montalembert in the Liberal Catholic movement, makes no pretense of being a work of original scholarship, but is based largely on the 1873 edition of Théophile

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Foisset's biography of Lacordaire, on Montalembert's memoir of his friend, on other biographies, and on Dansette. Although there are several studies of Lacordaire in English to be found in works on religious movements in his day, this is the first full-length biography of him to appear in English. Mr. Sheppard presents a sympathetic, well-balanced, and vivid picture of a powerful, controversial, and influential personality. In his view, Lacordaire's most enduring achievement was the restoration of the Dominican order in France. Although his brilliant Lenten sermons rekindled religious fervor in France, he was not a great theologian, and his style was too romantic for modern taste. As preacher and journalist he urged his fellow Catholics to accept the social and political ideas of the day, for the Church could only gain, he believed, from independence of the state and from civil, political, and religious liberty. Yet he remained a staunch supporter of the papacy and resigned from the French Assembly after the insurrection in May 1848. Although this biography may have some appeal for the general public, it does not analyze in sufficient depth Lacordaire's religious and social ideas or explore adequately the motives for his restless and sometimes contradictory religious and political activities, such as his relations with Lamennais, his secretive, self-imposed flagellations, and his role during the Revolution of 1848. In such brief compass it is impossible to trace in sufficient detail Lacordaire's relationship with the complex political, social, and intellectual currents of his day.

State University College, New Paltz, New York EVELYN M. ACOMB

DE F. T. GRAINDORGE À A. O. BARNABOOTH: LES TYPES AMÉRICAINS DANS LE ROMAN ET LE THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS (1861–1917). By *Simon Jeune.* [Études de littérature étrangère et comparée, Number 44.] (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier. 1963. Pp. xi, 522.) This work is one of several recent French doctoral theses that investigate the interpretation by domestic authors of foreign countries and peoples. Professor Jeune limits himself to an analysis of imaginative literature and, because French novelists and dramatists of his period did not often deal with American institutions or with American culture in general, treats almost exclusively American character as it appeared in fiction and on the stage. Major writers and the principal literary movements ordinarily dispensed with all mention of things American, but in light literature and in the comic theater there was a marked predilection for American types. Although Jeune discovers two tendencies, one favorable, one unfavorable to American character, the second prevailed. The American was made slightly ridiculous by the most friendly author, fantastically eccentric by the hostile. The emancipated woman, the American product that most fascinated French authors, appeared cold, vain, and finally insupportable as a woman, even if her energy and initiative were sometimes admired. At worst she was "a carnivorous doll." If the superiority of the American male in practical affairs was generally uncontested (in this literature all Americans are extremely rich), he was in danger for having violated human nature. Unfit either as a husband or a lover, he found revenge in an exaggerated pursuit of material wealth. In this study the development of the literary treatment of American types is isolated, and little is done to connect it with the changing historical scene in America and in France. And, although the "popularity" of works is made the justification for describing them, not enough detailed information is provided concerning the size, character, or the variety of the audiences they reached. Jeune's volume, with its plentiful examples and extensive and sensible analysis of these works, does provide a convenient means for discovering how American character was presented to the French who read light novels and attended popular Paris theaters between 1861 and 1917.

University of Massachusetts RICHARD H. POWERS

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LAS CRISIS DE SUBSISTENCIAS DE ESPAÑA EN EL SIGLO XIX. By *Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz*. [Universidad Nacional de Litoral, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Colección de Estudios y Monografías, Series C, Number 1.] (Rosario: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. 1963. Pp. 122.) The economic history of modern Spain first began to receive sober attention with the pioneering work of Jaime Vicens Vives. But his work did little more than open the field. There remains ample room for numerous monographs similar to this brief but careful study of the agricultural crises between 1820 and 1868. Throughout this period the major policies of the government in meeting the high cost of foodstuffs at home (occurring in approximate ten-year recurrent cycles) were the prohibition of the export of grain and the facilitation of its import. Close analysis reveals, however, that internal transportation deficiencies were most significant in aggravating the effects of food shortages and in preventing the development of a more efficient agricultural system through greater specialization by different regions of the country. The present study halts prior to the accomplishment of a national market and the establishment of a unified economic policy for the country as a whole. Its most serious weakness is the failure to relate clearly enough the economic analysis it presents to the course of politics during the period. The economic undergirding of political movements in Spain during these eventful years is worthy of considerable further research.

Florida State University EARL R. BECK

LAGEN—RÄTTEN—LÄRAN: POLITISK OCH KYRKLIG IDÉDEBATT I SVERIGE UNDER JOHAN III:S TID. By *Kerstin Strömberg-Back*. [Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis, Number 11.] ([Lund:] CWK Gleerup. 1963. Pp. xi, 350. Kr. 25.) Intellectual history more and more demands historians' time. Sweden was not isolated from the world of ideas during the Middle Ages, but the Reformation accompanied by unrest and wars brought Sweden closer to the European Continent. It was Gustavus Vasa who established a hereditary monarchy, broke with Rome, and made Sweden a Protestant country. Historians are aware of this king's constructive craftsmanship as well as of the period of confusion following his death. The King's last will and testament might have been prompted by a parent rather than by political wisdom and foresight. The crown was left to the oldest son while the younger sons were made dukes who contended for power. The work of Kerstin Strömberg-Back concerns itself only with the ideas used in contention and strife as these characterized the reign of John III and his difficulties with the brother, Duke Charles. The strife had significant political, legal, and religious overtones traceable to the nature of the absolutism established by Gustavus Vasa, which was violated in both spirit and text by the creation of duchies where ducal authority came into conflict with the nature of the sovereignty and suzerainty of an absolute king. In other words Strömberg-Back is interested in the world of ideas, political, legal, and religious, which were the direct consequences of both the work and the last will and testament of the King. It is an interpretive and courageous work characterized by unusual brevity for a Swedish dissertation. Few American scholars would be able to profit from it except those who might secure a panoramic view of it through a brief summary in German. Like most doctoral dissertations from Sweden the book lacks an index. It is understandable that the author draws heavily upon numerous secondary sources, but an American reader would have appreciated a comparative study rather than one that confines itself to the Swedish scene. To what extent the late Sture Bolin influenced the author except in methodology is difficult to state, but apparently she did not lack capable guidance.

Augustana College O. FRITIOF ANDER

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KARL X GUSTAV OCH REDUKTIONEN. By *Stellan Dahlgren*. [Studia Historica Upsaliensia, Number 14.] ([Stockholm:] Svenska Bokförlaget/Norstedts. 1964. Pp. x, 481.) Queen Christina, daughter and successor of Gustavus Adolphus, ruled over a country that had far-flung holdings in Europe and the rank of a major power. But Sweden had suffered great losses in manpower and physical resources during the Thirty Years' War. The state also had sold land and mortgaged rents in order to obtain the revenues needed to keep its army in the field. The peasants (bonder) carried a heavy burden of taxation and deeply resented the exemptions and privileges enjoyed by the nobility. Christina, rather than take the steps necessary to bring about social unity and a sound economy, gave new titles of nobility to favorites and provided them with incomes by selling or mortgaging crown lands. Before her abdication in 1654, the lower clergy and middle-class townsmen had combined to back the bonder in their demand that property that had been given to the aristocracy should now be returned to the state. Christina left the difficult problem to her cousin, Charles Gustavus, who, on mounting the throne, took the name Charles X Gustavus. The new ruler, whose brief reign was to end in 1660, inherited a kingdom on the verge of bankruptcy. Strong measures clearly were needed to increase the income of the state and to reduce the privileges of the nobility. The fact that Charles's reign was characterized by almost constant warfare added a note of urgency to the situation. The young King was equal to the task. Where Christina had practiced every form of extravagance, he introduced the most drastic economies. He personally led the fight in the Riksdag (parliament) to restore a considerable amount of property to the crown by means of confiscation. The Riksdag quickly agreed that forest lands required for mining operations, other lands used in the production of food, fuel, and building materials for the royal household, farms on which soldiers lived, and all the territory in certain designated districts should be returned to the state. The King also demanded large financial contributions from owners of crown lands, or the surrender of one-fourth of all the holdings that had passed into their hands since 1633. The nobles as a group reluctantly accepted the loss of a portion of their land, but fell to fighting among themselves over the amounts that should be surrendered on the one hand by the favored aristocrats, and on the other by the nobles who had received smaller gifts. The King then took matters in hand by appointing a "Reduction Commission" that assumed charge of the work of confiscation. The author, the first to make a scholarly investigation of Charles X's reduction program, does not challenge traditional views except in details. He concludes his well-documented study by stating that the greatest significance of reduction under Charles lay not in the area of state finance but in the field of politics, because of its clear assertion of the rights of the crown. Charles did not press confiscation on the higher nobility as firmly as he might have done and generally did not realize all of his plans for reduction. The real importance of his political work is to be seen in the thoroughgoing confiscations in the reign of his successor, Charles XI.

St. Olaf College KENNETH O. BJORK

KÄLLKRITIK OCH VETENSKAPSSYN I SVENSK HISTORISK FORSKNING 1820–1920. By *Rolf Torstendahl*. [Studia Historica Upsaliensia, Number 15.] ([Stockholm:] Svenska Bokförlaget/Norstedts. 1964. Pp. viii, 426.) Rolf Torstendahl proposed that his study of source criticism and scientific theories in historical writing systematically explore Swedish historians and their views. Thus he begins with the most important writer of the nineteenth century, Erik Gustaf Geijer, who impressed his mark on the entire century in so many different ways. The romantics (Geijer, Anders Fryxell, Anders Strinnholm) with their Germanic traditions from Schlözer, Hegel, Schelling, and Schlegel contributed much to historical theory. F. F. Carlson, C. G.

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Malmström, and C. T. Odhner brought other streams of thought, in particular the moral and idealistic concept of the organic state, emphasizing political history. In the last quarter of the century new ideas and new varieties of history came from Harald Hjärne, Martin Weibull, Lauritz Weibull, Arthur Stille, and Ludvig Stavenow. They introduced more precise definitions, greater skills, and more stringent controls on sources, and analyses entered research. By the time of Lauritz Weibull (1920), Swedish historical writing had achieved its major form and content. Torstendahl displays a mastery of his subject and a sound knowledge of his materials. Repetition and attention to detail make the work sometimes boring, difficult to follow, and overly precise, yet Swedish historians have written so much, and their ideas so often have created choleric discussion among the fraternity that such a detailed outline of their philosophy is useful. Torstendahl's sources include private materials and published works preserved in university and archival collections. (How many American historians have their letters and manuscripts available for future quizzical colleagues?) The bibliography is extensive, the German précis adequate, and the total effect a good example of modern Swedish historiographical writing.

California State College, Long Beach RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

WIRTSCHAFTSSTRUKTUR UND WIRTSCHAFTSPOLITIK DES FREISTAATES ESTLAND, 1918–1940. By *Uno Kaur.* [Commentationes Balticae, Volume VIII/IX, Number 3.] (Bonn: Baltisches Forschungsinstitut, Universität Bonn. 1962. Pp. 174. Relying for the most part on government publications, the author discusses the development of the Estonian economy between the wars and analyzes the reasons for and the results of state intervention in the economic life of the smallest of the Succession States. The book is arranged topically: the Estonian state, with a brief historical discussion; the rural economy; industry; transportation; foreign trade and tariff policy; and money and finance. The thesis is that independent Estonia was an economically successful state and that its example should be kept in mind during contemporary discussions between partisans and foes of governmental economic planning. The Estonian economy was neither free nor state controlled but mixed and offers an example of how planning and cooperation between government and the various segments of the economy can result in progress and prosperity. The book can be recommended to all interested in the period, the area, or the general question of economic planning. In some it will evoke nostalgia for a time when lovely Tallinn seemed much closer to Stockholm than to Leningrad.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

DIE BREMISCHE KAUFMANNSCHAFT DES 16. UND 17. JAHRHUNDERTS IN SOZIALGESCHICHTLICHER BETRACHTUNG. By *Ruth Prange.* [Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Number 31.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1963. Pp. 274.) DIE BREMISCHE GERICHTSVERFASSUNG VON DER ERSTEN GERICHTSORDNUNG BIS ZUR REICHSJUSTIZGESETZGEBUNG, 1751–1879. By *Jan Hiemsch.* [Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Number 32.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1964. Pp. 143.) These two dissertations derived their substance, as many preceding ones, from the archives of the former free city of Bremen. One of the Hanseatic towns, of modest territorial size and population, it has played an important role as a bustling trading center since medieval times. For centuries the affairs of the city-state were in the hands of an oligarchy, the *Stadtrat,* whose members were in large measure drawn from the college of *Elterleute*—the central organ of the merchant guilds. Hiemsch briefly outlines the city's long, gradual, and ultimately successful struggle of independence from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bremen,

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achieved by the end of the Middle Ages. He, then, turns to a systematic description of the judicial organs through which the *Stadtrat* exercised its absolute control over the city-state. Jealously guarding its powers, the *Stadtrat* refused to separate judicial and administrative functions on all levels until forced to do so by the Revolution of 1848, in spite of seven years of French occupation and legal reforms during the Napoleonic period (a period inadequately treated) and in spite of a more liberal trend on the part of almost all other German states, including the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg and Lübeck, by the beginning of the nineteenth century. If Hiemsch demonstrates the politically reactionary attitude of Bremen's city fathers, Prange shows fairly convincingly that the sustained economic success of the city rested on the merchants' broad-minded outlook and the *Stadtrat's* enlightened economic policies. This outlook seems to have been as much reflected in as nurtured by a considerable degree of social mobility and a steady influx of enterprising foreign merchants. Neither study offers anything startlingly new, though both fill empty local spaces in the vast mosaic of historical scholarship. Neither author made use of those of Bremen's primary sources which, having been stored away for safety during World War II, are now deposited in the Potsdam central archives. Hiemsch is more forthright in his exposition than Prange, who overly hedges and qualifies. While Hiemsch compares judicial and constitutional conditions and developments in Bremen with those of other German states, he does so almost to the exclusion of considering any other influences that might have affected those conditions and developments. Prange, on the other hand, while rarely comparing social conditions in Bremen with those elsewhere (which would have demonstrated remarkably similar developments), does consider on the local scene influences that transcend strictly social issues. She also provides the interested reader with a useful demographic appendix, listing, often with comprehensive notations, those merchants who are known to have migrated to Bremen. Both authors supply standard but unannotated bibliographies. Prange's study has an index of names.

Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn FELIX F. STRAUSS

OFFIZIERE IM BILD VON DOKUMENTEN AUS DREI JAHRHUNDERTEN. [Schriftenreihe des militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes, Beiträge zur Militär- und Kriegsgeschichte, Volume VI.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1964. Pp. 285. DM 38.) It is not always certain whether collections of selected documents do more than guide the student to the source materials of a problem, but as such they are valuable. They are, however, of unequal value to the scholar, for they lead in only one or two directions and follow both the logic and meaning of one or two themes. In this case, however, a somewhat different effect is achieved. The editor, Hans Meier-Welcker, and his two assistants, Manfred Messerschmidt and Ursula von Gersdorf, successfully "wed" narrative history to documents. They develop the social historical theme of the German army officer as seen in three centuries of official German documents. This "wedding" is achieved by devoting about a third of the volume to narrative history concerning the standard type of army officer the Germans had in mind from seventeenth-century Prussia to the end of the Second World War and the remainder to documents, which bear out the history. Messerschmidt traces the German's idea of the officer as a social type as it shows up in the 111 selected documents, such as army directives, orders of the day, and circulars: an all but deified, in, of course, the secular sense of the word, ideal of a reflex actioned and politically consciousless servant whose highest honor and achievement would be death on the battlefield. In real life, however, this never applied to the German General Staff, whose role in power politics, both domestic and international, is well known. Both the narrative and the documents high-light the several stages in the history of the German officer

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corps: the transition to a Prussian standing army in the 1680's, the Age of Frederick II, the reforms of 1807, the period to 1918, and the era of the Weimar Republic and of National Socialism. Without intending to be critical, I feel that the editor should have indicated the documents' depository or depositories by grouping the documents, by document number, in a separate section of one or two pages based on the place where they now are on deposit.

Norwich University ALBERT NORMAN

UNBEWÄLTIGTE GESCHICHTE: STATIONEN DEUTSCHEN SCHICKSALS SEIT 1763. By *Hans-Joachim Schoeps.* (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1964. Pp. 288. DM 17.80.) "Overcoming the past" is an important idea in contemporary German journalism, literature, law, and education. Professor Schoeps, a member of the Prussian academic colony at Erlangen, comes to the task from studies in the history of ideas. In this space I shall report his book as a phenomenon in the profession, and not review its scholarly merits. For it is meant neither for the professional historian nor "the intellectually malformed who always know better," he says, but to bring to the young certain currently suppressed ideas: *Reich* and Prussia. The *Reich* means European spiritual order, and Prussia is an idea necessary for its realization. Prussia's role was prepared, in the empty shambles of the old Empire, when Frederick II got Silesia and kept it. But the second Empire, by excluding much of Middle Europe, broke the supranational *Reich* continuum, and within it, too, the Prussian monarchic principle failed to develop a timely monarchy of the masses, a Prussian socialism. Involved here are Bismarck, William II, bourgeois liberal politicians, and finally the Socialists who refused to support Schleicher in 1933. Then the Devil got loose—Hitler, "figure of the Antichrist, the beast from the abyss"—with a movement that was "a typical expression of the era of the masses." Today the emptiness that caused all this has become even emptier. For Schoeps believes that technological advance is responsible for the featureless ball of morally isolated and yet undifferentiated men he sees. He is frequently critical of automobiles, refrigerators, and vacations. The *Bundesrepublik,* expedient habitat of the mobile and materialistic *Bundesbürger,* cannot become the object of patriotic idealism (he wrote much the same about the Weimar Republic in 1930). "Overcoming the mass society can only be made concrete when men are drawn again to something above the individual." That is why the loss of Prussia has been "Germany's moral catastrophe." Prussians everywhere must keep themselves spiritually prepared for the day it comes home to the *Reich.* Thus Schoeps. A feeling that voluntary, sturdy political patterns and honorable goals are missing does trouble German public life. To identify and treat the problem in present analogies to past ideas is attractive. Some of the most troubled will find this book congenial; other readers, especially the young, are likely to decide only that Schoeps has not overcome the past.

Harvard University MACK WALKER

KULTURGESCHICHTE VON RÜGEN BIS 1815. By *Wilhelm Steffen.* [Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Pommern. Section V, Forschungen zur pommerschen Geschichte. Number 5.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1963. Pp. 399. DM 32.) Based entirely upon published material (and even ignoring some of that), deliberately devoid of "impediments" to pleasurable reading such as footnotes, filled also with gratuitous speculation, this book is not scholarly in the conventional sense. For all that, it is useful historiography. Except for conveying a nostalgia hardly justified by Rügen's history, Steffen writes objectively. The perennial controversies of Slavs and Germans are reviewed without passion. No thesis is pressed. There is, moreover, much scholarship throughout. Steffen tries to identify his sources in the text and has

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them speak to us directly and at length. He is critical and analytical. His descriptions of Rügen's culture at various stages of history are delightfully detailed and organized. As for speculation, whenever his sources falter, Steffen leaps not to press his research but to fill the gaps with guesses. This can, but need not, annoy. Steffen offers his plausibilities as modestly as he addresses the rest of the work. We should not, if we too are modest, expect much more.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

PREUSSISCHER LIBERALISMUS UND DEUTSCHER NATIONALSTAAT: STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN FORTSCHRITTSPARTEI, 1861–1866. By *Heinrich August Winkler*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 17.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1964. Pp. ix, 134. DM 14.) In this tightly argued study the author explores the intellectual, social, and political background of the split that occurred in the Progressive party in 1866. The main interest lies in an analysis of the difference between those liberals who stressed the desire for national unity and those—he calls them "democrats"—who gave priority to the achievement of freedom within the existing state. Bismarck's success in foreign affairs through power forced the members of the Progressive party to reconsider their choice of means to achieve their objectives and brought a crisis from which Prussian liberalism never recovered. In his discussion the author does little to enhance our understanding of this well-known problem. He constantly makes assertions about social conditions and relations and about the nature and strength of institutions for which monographic studies are almost entirely lacking. His evidence, therefore, taken from the standard published political biographies and from a few contemporary impressionistic articles, is utterly inadequate. His chapter about the Progressive party and the Polish question (1863) and the Schleswig-Holstein problem and the war against Austria contains an original and often astute analysis, but the discussion relies far too much upon editorial statements in the *Volkszeitung* and *Nationalzeitung* and upon the opinions of Karl Twesten. As method the author uses a peculiar combination of *Ideengeschichte* and political party history and occasional concepts borrowed from Max Weber and others. Although the combination enables him in his search for cause and effect to range from the Reformation to the revolution of 1918, its flexibility does not compensate for failure to study thoroughly either the *Ideengeschichte* of the polarity of national unity and freedom or the political history of the Progressive party. It does, however, make it possible to avoid a discussion of the role that mistrust of and aversion to Bismarck assumed in these years in the thinking of liberals. The main merit of the study is to reveal the presence of a talented young historian, whose method of analysis and knowledge of sources were inadequate to his purpose. Let us hope that he will now test the validity of one of his many value judgments.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGENE N. ANDERSON

JULIKRISE UND KRIEGSAUSBRUCH 1914: EINE DOKUMENTENSAMMLUNG. Volume II. Edited with an introduction by *Imanuel Geiss*. (Hanover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen GMBH. 1964. Pp. 854. DM 62.) Continuing the high standard of the first volume (*AHR*, LXIX [Jan. 1964], 519), this work begins with July 26, 1914, the day following the Austro-Hungarian rupture with Serbia. Geiss reprints 769 documents from the national collections (including several from German archives), and, in addition, 3 pieces from the Belgian archives (reports from the ambassador in Paris for July 29, 30, and 31). Geiss's introduction to the eight sections are models of scientific historical statement. In footnotes he replies frequently to Gerhard Ritter's *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk*, Volume II (1960), and his

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attack on Fritz Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (1961). There is a useful table, in parallel columns, of events in the several capitals from June 29 to August 4, with reference to appropriate documents. The bibliography lists a number of German and Austrian works on the July crisis that have appeared since 1945. In his "Zusammenfassung" Geiss declares that his purpose is "nicht Verurteling oder Verteidigung," but to show what happened and why. There is no doubt in his mind that Germany bears the principal responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1914. Berlin wanted an Austrian war against Serbia and persuaded—even forced—a hesitant Vienna to act; once Austria declared war on Serbia, everything that followed was like a "chain reaction." Russia, France, and Britain did what was to be expected, and, in Geiss's opinion, justified. "Maybe the German government [*Reichsleitung*] did not wish a preventive war (although the General Staff was pleading for it), but even Jagow [the State Secretary of the Foreign Office] was of the opinion that 'if the battle is offered, we should not shirk it.'" Germany deliberately ran the risk of a continental war (Germany and Austria versus Russia and France): if this did not come to pass, Germany would become more than ever the dominant power on the Continent; if it did happen, Germany would easily win the war, provided Britain did not come in. But even when Britain's entry became imminent, the German government sabotaged Sir Edward Grey's peace efforts and did not speak the decisive word in Vienna. This was what I said in 1930 (and was severely criticized for it) and what Albertini said in the 1950's. It was repeated by Fischer in 1961 and is confirmed by Geiss in 1964. It will be interesting to see how the German "diehards" react to Geiss's presentation.

University of Chicago BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

HITLER: REDEN UND PROKLAMATIONEN, 1932–1945. KOMMENTIERT VON EINEM DEUTSCHEN ZEITGENOSSEN. Volume II, UNTERGANG (1939–1945). By *Max Domarus.* ([Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt.] 1963. Pp. viii, 1001–2319. DM 84.) The second volume of Domarus' work, even more massive than the first (*AHR,* LXIX [Jan. 1964], 449), follows the same pattern: less a collection than a presentation of materials for a "public" biography, connected by editorial comments. Few speeches are reproduced completely; generally a few excerpts are given, with little indication of their proportion to the whole speech. The proclamations, being shorter, fare better. There is an inordinate amount of minor, even trivial, material—reports of formal receptions, set piece proclamations, pronouncements on festive or tragic public occasions, telegrams of greetings. There is also much editorializing on such matters as parallels between the careers of Hitler and Napoleon, the central position of Britain in the opposition to Hitler, and the flaws of German resistance leaders, especially those involved in the attempt of July 20, 1944. As for the content and form of the speeches, Hitler generally followed the formula noted for the first volume: the *Parteierzählung* about early struggles and ultimate triumphs, the rows of statistics, the assault on the chief foes of the moment, exhortations to stand firm, and a grand finale of mingled defiance and promise. As in earlier speeches, the concrete and the national dominate, not the theoretical or the racial; there are few generalizations, rare references to race, almost none—in sharp contrast to Hitler's table talk—to religious opposition. Domarus points out Hitler's fondness for comparing the war with the Nazi party's internal struggles. The English are like "Hugenbergers"; the hostile outside world is like the old internal foes. Naturally emphasis shifts with circumstances. Before the Russian campaign, England, capitalism, democracy are special antagonists, and Hitler's social achievements allegedly evoke their envy and fear; then Bolshevism and the familiar "Jewish-communist" conspiracy come to the fore. Actually not much was said about the Jews in the first years

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covered in this volume; later the references are more frequent, with unveiled threats of their annihilation in Europe. The United States plays a small role in the speeches. Hitler's egocentrism assumes huge proportions. Allusions to the *Reich*'s golden age before 1914, so frequent in his early days as party orator, are lacking; instead, Germany seems really to have begun with him, everything now occurring is unique, and the superlatives—"the greatest. . . of all times"—appear in droves. Domarus stresses Hitler's avoidance of public appearances as the war went on, and makes much, to my surprise, of the possibility of resistance by the *Reichstag* and of Hitler's declining hold over his old party comrades.

Harvard University REGINALD H. PHELPS

GERMANY UNDER DIRECT CONTROLS: ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL DISARMAMENT 1945–1948. By *Nicholas Balabkins*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 265. $7.50.) In 1945–1948, the British and American military governments used "direct controls" over the German economy, according to Professor Balabkins, to bring about the "industrial disarmament" of Germany. "The Allies aimed," he says, "not at the maximum utilization of industrial capacity but at precisely the opposite," and thereby reduced Germany to an "economic morass." The author provides a useful analysis of the take-over by the military governments of much Nazi economic legislation and administrative controls over wages and prices, rents and housing, rationing, allocation of manpower and raw materials, and especially over agriculture, although he gives little space to decartelization and deconcentration of industry or to the abortive efforts at land redistribution. He documents the reversion of the German economy, as a result of such factors as "repressed inflation," barter, "compensation trade" among industries, and the delay in currency reform, toward a primitive type of "truck wage system." The economic stagnation of Germany before the currency reform is undeniable; more questionable, however, are Balabkins' assumptions that policy of the British and American military governments was the major cause of German economic decline, and that rapid German recovery after 1945 would have aided other European countries. The American military government, particularly after Byrnes's Stuttgart speech of September 6, 1946, pressed strongly for economic unification of the Western zones, reduction of reparations, and greater German participation in industrial administration, as methods of furthering Germany's economic revival. And, in 1945, in spite of Allied bombing, Germany's population was relatively well fed, its industrial reserves high, its forests well preserved, its farms stocked with the animals and machinery of its neighbors. It is hard to believe that the economic recovery of countries Germany had exploited would have been aided more by Germany's revival than by restitution of agricultural and industrial equipment, and delivery of coal, timber, and machine tools as reparations or through compulsory exportation. In the period the author discusses, it was hardly axiomatic that what is good for Germany is good for Europe.

University of California, Davis F. ROY WILLIS

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY: FROM WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT TO MODERN POLITICAL PARTY. By *Douglas A. Chalmers*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 10.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 258. $6.50.) The subtitle of this study indicates its major theme. Chalmers, an assistant professor of political science at Douglass College, is largely concerned with the transformation of the present SPD from a Marxist, working-class party to an "electoral party" that seeks a broader social base, a new image, and a new style of leadership. The author analyzes the background to and the meaning of the Bad Godesberg Program of 1959, which culminated the work of a reformist wing to

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abandon the former ideological orientation and the trade-union image of the SPD. The shift from a "nationalist" foreign policy, which often suggested a greater willingness to find an accommodation with the Soviet Union, to the present policy, which in its essentials is identical to that of its chief rival, the Christian Democratic Union, is also examined at some length. The book also includes a sketch of the rise of the popular mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, who, along with the reformers, realized how anachronistic and unpopular were the old slogans. Not only has the SPD sought to broaden its social base and to de-emphasize its ideological heritage; it has also attempted to establish new relations with varied social groups and to develop a more flexible approach to political goals. Recent local elections indicate that the new program and the new leadership may be succeeding. The changes that have occurred in the SPD, according to Chalmers, are the result of profound social and economic changes in the Federal Republic. The SPD has broken with its past in response to the fact that the Federal Republic has broken with Germany's past. "The SPD is therefore undergoing a quiet revolution. It is not the revolution in German society planned by the founders of the party, but a revolution that the changing society itself has forced upon the party." The author seems to have consulted the major printed sources, and he has supplemented his research by systematic interviews and attendance at SPD meetings and conferences during 1960–1961. And he has not used the technical jargon that some historians find offensive and unintelligible. The result is a book that should be of considerable value to students of recent German history.

Colorado State University BRUCE B. FRYE

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA. By *John Stoye*. (London: Collins. 1964. Pp. 349. $5.00.) The second Turkish assault upon Vienna has never received an even remotely adequate treatment in English, and accounts in other languages are variously deficient. Stoye's effort to illuminate the events of 1683, surely a major turning point in European history, is thus most appropriate. It is a superbly written book: the style is clear and flowing, the material outwardly well digested. The maps, diagrams, and illustrations are excellent. Certain portions of the text, moreover, are unexceptionable. Particularly noteworthy is the succinct, lucid description of Vienna's defense works. On the other hand, the volume has a number of important faults. The author has consulted Ottoman sources on the origins of the siege, using only a rather undependable Turkish monograph in German translation. He also ignores Cantemir (admittedly not always reliable), Rycault, and the *Diarium* of Kunitz, Austrian resident at the Porte. He makes relatively little use of Western archival materials. An investigation of the Simancas holdings would have given more information on the diplomatic background. Strangely enough, there is no mention of the pivotal role of England's Charles in the international situation of the day. Very striking is the omission of a most informative printed source by a garrison officer, the Count of Provana. Major secondary studies, such as Wimmer's *Wyprawa Wiedeńska* and Wright's *Ottoman Statecraft*, are also overlooked. There are, moreover, insufficiencies of treatment and analysis. That Nijmegen was a French "triumph" is questionable. There is no account of the Polish, Austrian, and Turkish military machines and tactics. The precise causal function of Louis XIV is not made clear. The behavior of Thököly, the Magyar rebel, is oversimplified as is the complex character of Sobieski, and Leopold I does not receive his full due. The reason given for excluding an interpretation of Kara Mustafa's personality cannot withstand informed examination. The strategic thinking of the military engineer, Rimpler, is merely hinted at. Stoye is unfair to Charles of Lorraine regarding the initial withdrawal of the Austrian field army and its actions during the siege. The difficult problem of the size and composition of the Ottoman host is barely mentioned. There is no discussion (perhaps deliberately) of the common

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seventeenth-century belief that the grand vizier moderated the vehemence of the attack in order to achieve a negotiated capitulation, thus securing all booty for himself. This viewpoint, while probably unfounded, does deserve consideration. There *is* additional evidence that a faction of the Viennese burghers contemplated surrender. The slow engagement of the Polish Army in the relief action remains a puzzle, but the solution is fairly obvious: greater distance and rougher terrain. The interview of Leopold and Sobieski after the siege is cavalierly dismissed. Yet it may well be relevant to an explanation of the failure to pursue the beaten Turks more promptly. Mechanical flaws are relatively minor: some inconsistency in choosing the language for place names, incorrect use or absence of diacritical marks, several misspellings of names, an occasional false citation, and a few, lesser factual errors. In sum, this study, although recommended reading, should be approached with some caution.

State University of New York, Albany THOMAS M. BARKER

THE WILD GOOSE AND THE EAGLE: A LIFE OF MARSHALL VON BROWNE, 1705–1757. By *Christopher Duffy.* (London: Chatto and Windus; distrib. by Lawrence Verry, Mystic, Conn. 1964. Pp. xiii, 278. $7.00.) Maximilian von Browne was one of the many Irish exiles (the "Wild Geese") who sought their fame and fortune in the armies of Imperial Austria. Trained in the Age of Eugene of Savoy, he rose to high rank in the wars against Frederick the Great, dying of wounds received in the battle for Prague in 1757. Like many of his comrades, he never enjoyed the full confidence of the crown he served, and Browne's relations with the court and the Austrian nobility are chronicled here along with his successes and failures in the field. The author falls into the familiar habit of biographers, magnifying his subject out of proportion to the world in which he lived. Surely it is an exaggeration to claim that Browne "possessed the most comprehensive military talent of his day." Following one general through a series of often unrelated campaigns gives a good picture of the career of an eighteenth-century mercenary officer, but at the same time the larger issues are obscured, and seldom does a vision of a whole campaign emerge. There are some excellent descriptions of the operations of an eighteenth-century army, and military historians will find the battle scenes clearly drawn. The author indulges occasionally in parochial Irish enthusiasms and makes some ill-considered generalizations about national character. His use of sources appears competent, though his task has been greatly complicated by the disappearance of Browne's own papers. The notes and bibliography are somewhat unsystematic. Conventional military history with its endless accounts of battles and maneuvers has rather gone out of fashion, but with all its faults and limitations it can make instructive reading.

Haverford College JOHN P. SPIELMAN, JR.

STUDIES IN GENEVAN GOVERNMENT (1536–1605). By *E. William Monter.* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume LXII.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1964. Pp. 128.) This work originated as part of a doctoral dissertation at Princeton University under the direction of E. H. Harbison. The author undertakes to study three topics in the history of sixteenth-century Geneva: "Genevan Public Finance," "Aspects of Genevan Administration," and "The Structure of Genevan Politics." Chapter 1 is basically a history of bookkeeping in sixteenth-century Geneva. It presents much information on how a city like Geneva could remain fiscally solvent in spite of the debts incurred early in the sixteenth century. Monter provides the reader with many tables and innumerable statistics, also showing how profitable the Reformation was for Geneva in terms of added revenue and sources of income. The chapter on administration is more interesting, particularly the treatment of the civil courts: how they were organized and the cases brought before them. The most revealing

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section is that on "The Structure of Genevan Politics." Here Monter dramatically shows the shift in the magistrates from the merchant class in 1536 to the professional men by 1605. He also demonstrates that political know-how and ambition could be used to advantage even in that most perfect city of Christ since the Apostles. Philibert Blondel is an excellent example of the rise to power by one not motivated by Calvin's *Institutes*. *Studies in Genevan Government (1536–1605)* is a worth-while contribution to sixteenth-century studies. I would like to see Monter expand his conclusion, because it is only in a brief concluding chapter that Calvin is finally mentioned.

St. Olaf College ROBERT N. CROSSLEY

REGISTRES DE LA COMPAGNIE DES PASTEURS DE GENÈVE AU TEMPS DE CALVIN. Volume I, 1546–1553: DÉLIBÉRATIONS DE LA COMPAGNIE; ORDONNANCES ECCLÉSIASTIQUES; PROCÈS DE JÉRÔME BOLSEC. By *Jean-François Bergier*. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume LV.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1964. Pp. xiv, 183.) Historians of the Reformation as well as students of theology owe a large debt of gratitude to Professors Robert M. Kingdon and Jean-François Bergier for bringing together into two, eventually three, volumes the deliberations and decisions of the Venerable Company of Pastors in Geneva during a highly critical period in the development and early spread of Calvinism. The publication began with the second volume (1962), edited by Kingdon, which has an introduction containing a discussion of the sources followed by the deliberations of the company from 1553 to 1564 and a section on the Servetus case. The introduction of the first volume contains a brief discussion of form and content, giving reasons for including the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 at the beginning and the theological propositions for discussion in the appendix. The deliberations, arranged in the same chronological order as recorded by the secretary and as found in the State Archives of Geneva, are followed by the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1547, a letter of the pastors of Zurich to Calvin, and the important case of Jerome Bolsec, including the theological propositions under discussion, questions raised by the pastors, Bolsec's responses, replies of the ministers, and correspondence of the company concerning the case with clergymen in other cities. The publication of these well-edited materials will stimulate a renewed interest in one of the most dynamic centers of Protestantism in sixteenth-century Europe.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

THE LETTERS OF MICHELANGELO. Volume I, 1496–1534; Volume II, 1537–1563. Translated from the original Tuscan, edited and annotated by *E. H. Ramsden*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1963. Pp. lxv, 317; lxv, 338. $45.00 the set.) These two large, handsome volumes furnish a magnificent setting for the correspondence of Michelangelo, here translated and edited with loving care. The contribution of the editor, including two lengthy biographical introductions, explanatory footnotes, a careful analysis of the dates and sequence of the letters, and some forty-four appendixes, could, indeed, scarcely be more complete. It is no reflection on the greatness of Michelangelo if the letters themselves seem somewhat disappointing. The great majority are addressed to members of his immediate family, and most of the rest to friends who acted as his business agents. With few exceptions they are brief and deal almost exclusively with practical matters: family affairs, contracts, finance, and the difficulty of getting suitable marble shipped from the Carrara quarries. We know that Michelangelo thought profoundly and felt deeply about art, poetry, philosophy, and religion, but of this the letters give little indication. Why, indeed, should they? There is no reason why Michelangelo should have discussed matters of this kind in letters to members of his family, who probably would neither have under-

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stood nor cared; nor could one expect essays on art or philosophy in letters to his bankers. Even the handful of letters to Giorgio Vasari deal mostly with matters of business, although two discuss in some technical detail an error in the construction of the vault of St. Peter's. Almost the only bit of art criticism occurs in a letter to Benedetto Varchi in 1547. "I admit," he writes, "that it seems to me that painting may be held to be good in the degree in which it approximates to relief and relief to be bad in the degree in which it approximates to painting." But, if Michelangelo's letters were not, like many of those of the humanists, scholarly essays tacitly intended for publication, they have the compensating immediacy of spontaneous expression. Their cumulative effect is to give us a touching picture of a sensitive, affectionate, and conscientious man, perpetually harassed by the cares of his family and the importunate demands of his patrons.

University of Western Ontario WALLACE K. FERGUSON

KOŚCIUSZKO: KSZTAŁTOWANIE POGLĄDÓW NA BOHATERA NARODOWEGO, 1794–1894 [The Shaping of Opinions on Kosciusko as a National Hero, 1794–1894]. By *Krystyna Śreniowska.* [Uniwersytet Łódzki. Prace Instytutu Historycznego, Number 9.] (Warsaw: the Uniwersytet. 1964. Pp. 137.) Public opinion research on the great figures of history is always an arduous and often unrewarding task. This is essentially true in the case of Kosciusko (1746–1817) who lived in a world of revolutionary transitions. Krystyna Śreniowska was fully aware of the methodological difficulties stemming from the complexity of the rapidly changing situations so characteristic of nineteenth-century Polish and universal development. In view of this, she was forced to organize her well-chosen material almost exclusively in chronological order and disregard some other possibilities for arranging the sources. By following this plan, she has indeed made a clear-cut survey of all relevant public opinion trends. After some introductory remarks, the book's lengthiest chapter, portraying Kosciusko at the end of the eighteenth century, begins. During these years the contour of the hero's image was drawn and subsequently colorfully completed by posterity. In the final analysis, Śreniowska concludes that Polish opinions can be combined in the three groups: Catholic moralizers and certain Positivists (e.g., Kraszewski) who accepted Kosciusko as a national hero without reservation; people's (or peasant) activists and radical democrats who approved only those of the hero's activities that were connected with the promotion of the peasant question; the various shades of the Polish Left Wing that unanimously rejected him as a national hero. These results of painstaking research were based on a wide variety of contemporary sources (memoirs, diaries, public addresses, periodical articles, poetry, and so forth) and selected literature. The volume is well footnoted, and its bibliography lists 185 items, including a few periodical articles. Śreniowska deals briefly with the views of some foreign authors whose books on the hero have been translated into Polish and have made some impact upon the Poles. This is significant since many foreign aspects of the question have not yet been touched. Having published the present volume, the methodologically well-trained author may extend her research to include the internationally active and well-known Polish hero. And through the heretofore unused foreign materials she might open some new vistas in the currently stagnant Kosciusko studies.

Library of Congress FRANCIS S. WAGNER

MIKOŁAJ ZYBLIKIEWICZ (1823–1887). By *Irena Homola Dzikowska.* [Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 10.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1964. Pp. 192. Zł. 37.) In the period of the transformation of the Habsburg

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Empire into the Dual Monarchy, part of the Poles in Galicia adopted as their political platform complete loyalty toward the monarchy and the renunciation of any policy aiming at regaining independence. But at the same time they hoped that this loyalty would be rewarded by granting Galicia a large measure of self-government, particularly in cultural life (unlimited use of Polish in schools, public offices, courts, and so forth). As usual, not all of them agreed how large this measure should be, some being "maximalists" (with Hungary as the ideal), others "possibilists" or "minimalists." In domestic affairs they were conservatives trying to preserve as much as possible of the semifeudal political and economic privileges of the landed nobility; they furthermore tried to keep the Ukrainians from achieving their nationalistic goals, frequently contending that the Ukrainians were an ethnic subbranch of the Polish nation. Of this conservative party Zyblikiewicz, a Ruthenian (a Ukrainian considering himself a Pole), son of a cobbler, member of the Austrian parliament (1861–1873), mayor of the city of Cracow (1874–1881), lord marshal of Galicia (1881–1886), sometimes a "maximalist," sometimes a "minimalist," is an excellent representative, though in his capacity as lord marshal he alienated conservatives by initiating steps aiming at the industrialization of Galicia, whereas they tried to preserve the agrarian character of Galicia and with it their privileged position. Basing her work on Polish sources (those located in the Soviet Ukraine and in Austria remained inaccessible to her) the author presents the first full-fledged biography of Zyblikiewicz, well documented, rich in detail, objective in presentation; thus the reader can make his own judgments rather than having to rely on hers. Everyone familiar with the desperate attempts of the multinational Dual Monarchy to preserve its unity in the face of mounting nationalist pressure, and with the history and role of the Poles in that monarchy, will greatly appreciate the book.

Scripps College FRANCISZKA MERLAN

KRIZIS SAMODERZHAVIIA NA RUBEZHE 1870–1880 GODOV [The Crisis of Autocracy in the 1870's and 1880's]. By *P. A. Zaionchkovskii.* (Moscow: Publishing House of Moscow University. 1964. Pp. 510.) This is an exhaustive study of Russian domestic policy from the spring of 1878 to the summer of 1882. Its author characterizes the period as one of crisis for Russian autocracy, a time when all attempts at rule by ordinary means failed and the imperial government vacillated between a policy of rigid police repression and attempts to broaden the social base of governmental authority. Zaionchkovskii asserts that the crisis reached its greatest intensity in the year before the assassination of Alexander II, when Loris-Melikov, first as military dictator and then as Minister of Interior, was forced to offer concessions to liberal public opinion. Had these been carried out, Zaionchkovskii suggests, they might under certain circumstances have led to substantive constitutional reforms. The crisis ended with the appointment of D. A. Tolstoi as Minister of Interior, who, in the absence of any extraordinary popular resistance, was able to implement a consistent, reactionary policy. The broad outline of the events is generally known, but Zaionchkovskii's formulation of four progressive periods of the crisis suggests new ways of viewing these familiar events. The important contribution of this work is the wealth of hitherto unknown information it offers. Relying heavily on Russian state archives and unpublished memoirs and letters, Zaionchkovskii has been able to clarify greatly the relationships between many leading figures of the Russian government, locate the sources of inspiration of numerous policies, and in general illuminate the mode of operation of the governmental establishment. In placing his study in a broader social framework, Zaionchkovskii has differed with a view put forward in recent Soviet works that the political crisis of the late 1870's was directly provoked by massive popular discontent, particularly among the peasantry. Zaionchkovskii argues, on the

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contrary, that the immediate cause of the crisis was the success of the program of political terror executed by the *narodovol'tsy,* those members of the terroristic wing of the Russian Populist movement who believed that revolutions are made by critically thinking individuals. Zaionchkovskii demonstrates that the concern of the government during the crisis was almost exclusively with political terrorism, the results of the Zasylich case and its effect on public opinion, student disorders, and the activities of the liberal zemstvos; at the same time the government accepted with equanimity a steady but moderate level of peasant and worker unrest. The work contains a lengthy discussion of the literature and particularly the sources relating to the internal operation and domestic policy of the Russian government for the period under study. Both specialists in nineteenth-century Russian history and students of contemporary Soviet historiography will find this outstanding work stimulating and useful.

Amherst College PETER CZAP, JR.

Near East

LES PEUPLES ET LES CIVILISATIONS DU PROCHE ORIENT: ESSAI D'UNE HISTOIRE COMPARÉE, DES ORIGINES À NOS JOURS. Volume II, DE 1600 À 64 AVANT J.-C. By *Jawad Boulos.* (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1962. Pp. 430, 5 plates.) *Les Peuples* covers much ground. In its five major chronological sections (1600–1200, 1200–750, 754–540, 540–330, 330–64 B.C.) and innumerable subdivisions, it attempts to describe, within the compass of its 430 rather spacious pages, everything of historical note in the Near East. The task is not impossible, and within these narrative limits, Boulos has succeeded. But it is the success of an actor who breaks the speed record for a performance of Hamlet; condensation has triumphed over intelligibility. The Near East, within which Boulos correctly places Greece and its Aegean complex, would seem, at first glance, to present ideal possibilities for an "essai d'une histoire comparée," the professed aim of the entire series of which this is the second volume. But surely the point of such a treatment would consist precisely in the comparisons, and, equally surely, the laying out, side by side, of the "histories" of the various political entities involved does not constitute such a comparison. Boulos is primarily concerned with political history in a narrow sense, and his attempt to include everything in this sphere has obscured the very points where comparative judgments might be pertinent and meaningful. On the question of such comparative social and economic institutions as, for example, religion, literary genres, law, and military organization, the author is least enlightening. Where W. H. McNeill has succeeded brilliantly in his *Rise of the West,* Boulos has failed. The weakness of his treatment is particularly notable at the crucial junctures when almost the entire land mass was under the control of a single power: the Assyrian Empire, the importance of which McNeill so correctly stresses, the Achaemenians, and Alexander the Great. It is legitimate to expect that a comparative study of the Near East from 1600 B.C. to 64 B.C. will present a point of view on Alexander the Great. The author gives none; he contents himself with quoting the insights of Arthur Weigall. In general, there is little or no documentation in this book. Boulos limits himself to an occasional quote, almost always in an evaluative context, from French works of roughly the same scope and intent as his own (Croiset, Daniel-Rops, Moret, Delaporte). There are five maps at the end, but no indexes.

New York University F. E. PETERS

THE YEMEN: IMAMS, RULERS, & REVOLUTIONS. By *Harold Ingrams.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. xi, 164. $5.00.) Because the author reveals cur-

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rent Yemeni developments, this book is timely. And while his thesis is debatable, he does provide some valuable insights. The introductory chapters present, in a popular style, historical background for recent developments. Here Ingrams treats the people, the country, the religion, the Imams, and the growth of British influence in the area. As he moves into the contemporary period he writes from firsthand knowledge. His earliest contact with southern Arabia was in 1919, after which he returned to remain for ten years (1934–1944) in the service of the British government. During this period he was resident adviser to the sultans of the Hadhramaut and chief secretary to the government of Aden. Thus, his observations on the border problems between the Yemen and the Aden Protectorate are a valuable contribution to historical literature. On the other hand, he was not a direct observer of events in modern Yemen itself; his knowledge of the republic of Yemeni was limited to occasional trips. By reason of his official position in the Aden Protectorate and his intimate acquaintance with the problems of the area as a whole, he writes, nevertheless, if not as an eyewitness, at least as an interested and well-informed observer. The fact that al-Yemen, historically at least, embraced the territory of the erstwhile western Aden Protectorate and Aden, as well as that of present-day Yemen, of course, is at the root of the dispute between Yemeni nationalists and the British. Thus, developments within Yemen were of paramount importance to British officials in Aden. The author's thesis, however, detracts considerably from the value of the book. While he recognizes the existence of nationalist aspirations among the Yemenites, for example, he concludes that given the area of Yemen and the people, a modern nation-state is a very unlikely possibility. He is, therefore, critical of the British "forward policy," the attempt to move the area progressively into the status of a modern democratic welfare nation-state. He suggests that this was at the root of the problem between the British and the Imams, and it may well have been. The latter wanted to preserve the *status quo*. Ingrams implies that this should have also been the British policy. Old colonial hands might well agree with his ideas. Others will recognize that his views are couched in romanticism and nostalgia. He fails to consider developments elsewhere in the *tiers monde* that are producing nation-states in what once appeared also to be equally hopeless situations.

University of Southern California WILLARD A. BELING

ATATÜRK VE DEVRIMLERI TARIHI BIBLIYOGRAFYASĬ [A Bibliography of Atatürk and the History of His Reforms]. By *Muzaffer Gökman*. (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basimevi. 1963. Pp. vi, 426.) November 10, 1963, marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey. In honor of this occasion a great many books were published both in Turkey and abroad. Outstanding among them is Muzaffer Gökman's book. It is a work of real substance by the director of the Beyazit State Library in Istanbul and will be a standard reference in the field. By classifying his material under forty-two headings and providing two indexes, Gökman has produced a work of greater utility than the earlier bibliographies by Melzig in 1941, the National Library in 1953, Gökman and Duruscy in 1957, and the catalogue of Ismail Arar's library published in 1960. Gökman has also cast his net more widely, listing over 2,500 items by 863 Turkish and 257 foreign authors including 1,826 works in Turkish, 181 in French, 121 in English, and 49 in German. Classification by subject represents the major contribution of this bibliography. Sections devoted to Atatürk's writings on military subjects, Atatürk at Samsun, and local history enhance the value of the work. In the interest of thoroughness Gökman has included sections on albums of Atatürk, bank notes, and commemorative stamp issues. Gökman is already at work on a second volume. If it conforms to the high standards he has set for himself, it will be a welcome companion piece. As the bibliographical tools proliferate, one hopes we are getting closer to the day when it will be possible

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for someone to write that most necessary of books in the field: a definitive biography of Atatürk.

Princeton University NORMAN ITZKOWITZ

THE DESERT KING: IBN SAUD AND HIS ARABIA. By *David Howarth.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964. Pp. 307. $6.50.) The Western world has long had a strong fascination for the life of Bedouin warriors and chieftains. The seemingly simple and free existence of these tribesmen, unencumbered by the problems of complex, industrialized societies, has attracted many Westerners, in action as well as thought, the most dynamic being T. E. Lawrence. David Howarth's biography of ibn-Saud will, in all likelihood, find a receptive audience in this country and in Great Britain for these reasons. The book should be well received. To be sure, it is not the definitive biography of ibn-Saud. Although Howarth has utilized British government archives and interviewed Western and Arab individuals for their personal recollections of ibn-Saud, subsequent research in this area will undoubtedly reveal fresh material of great interest, much of it probably in the archives of the Saudi Arabian government. The internal dynamics of politics and society in the Arabian Peninsula and the relationship of the family of Saud to other tribal groups, moreover, are not fully treated and would illuminate ibn-Saud's actions. In spite of these limitations this book constitutes an important contribution to the understanding of contemporary Saudi Arabian history. Tracing the rise of ibn-Saud from exile through his conquest of most of the Arabian Peninsula, the author argues convincingly that ibn-Saud's superior organizing abilities and *esprit* enabled him to oust the favored house of Sherif Husein from the Hejaz. The chapters on the internal political situation within the newly established kingdom are excellent. Ibn-Saud's grasp of political realities was evidenced in creating a rule of law for his state and then in divorcing himself from the fanatical religious brotherhoods, which had helped bring him to power, but wanted to continue a policy of expansion by raiding into Iraq. This book complements the more personalized accounts of H. St. John Philby and K. S. Twitchell on ibn-Saud's Arabia.

Princeton University ROBERT L. TIGNOR

SYRIAN POLITICS AND THE MILITARY, 1945–1958. By *Gordon H. Torrey.* [Publication of the Mershon Center for Education in National Security. The Graduate Institute for World Affairs of the Ohio State University, Number 3.] ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1964. Pp. 438. $7.00.) Syria has been the bellwether of the Arab states in the period after 1945. Here first unfolded the familiar progression of newly achieved internal political freedom, political crisis, military intervention, and the replacement of time-honored personalities by relative newcomers. Gordon Torrey has written a descriptive narrative of the process that culminated in the unification with Egypt in the United Arab Republic in 1958. A short epilogue relates the subsequent fortunes of the Syrian architects of the union until its dissolution in 1961. The author sees the election of 1954 and the cabinet change of February 1955 as marking the decisive turn. From this time on, the traditional, conservative, and pro-Western forces in Syria were submerged by leftist, neutralist, and anti-Western elements. Torrey makes passing mention of such familiar explanations as the rising middle class and Israel, but he singles out the Syrian politician's devotion to expediency. Akram al-Hawrani was the most skillful practitioner, as he was the outstanding personality. Torrey has utilized the proceedings of Parliament, personal observation, and the local press. Some of his statements can be questioned by closer probing of the sources. Zaim's alignment with Egypt, for example, was completed only in June 1949, after a long and tortuous course, rather than in the relatively brief and straightforward development that the book describes. The policy of the Hinnawi regime toward union

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with Iraq is depicted in the words of those who overthrew it. That the regime was guilty as charged is by no means likely. The only project that had any substantial support in the cabinet provided for the retention of the republic in Syria. Hinnawi himself greeted the Constituent Assembly with a reaffirmation of the independence of republican Syria. In general, however, this is an unusually well-informed book that illuminates many hitherto dark areas. Outright errors are rare. The main developments are treated with admirable attention to meaningful detail and to proper documentation. The description of Syrian political conditions and practice, drawing heavily on the author's personal observation, offers much that is new and significant. There are useful appendixes and an index. Torrey has succeeded in providing guidance and example to those who undertake the "journey into the wilderness of contemporary Near Eastern history."

University of Illinois C. Ernest Dawn

Africa

HISTORY OF THE CHAGGA PEOPLE OF KILIMANJARO. By *Kathleen M. Stahl.* [Studies in African History, Anthropology, and Ethnology, Number 2.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 394. Glds. 32.) Mrs. Stahl had a magnificent opportunity to utilize evolving techniques for collecting oral traditions in this history of one of Africa's most vital groups. Unfortunately inadequate methodology has largely invalidated her considerable labors. In presenting her approach, the author describes extensive visitations on Kilimanjaro in the various parishes (*mitaa*) to hear Chagga interpretations of their past, including a commendable effort to gather varying accounts of different Chagga interest groups. But the result is merely a digestion, lacking texts of collected versions to allow for independent judgment. Thus, though presenting a most interesting account of Chagga political history, the compilation is unsatisfactory, especially as relevant written sources were not fully consulted to aid in the verification of the oral traditions. Since the Chagga apparently have no traditions of origin, no effort was made to fill this gap. There are minor errors or misinterpretations from printed works that shake confidence in a methodology depending entirely on trust of the author. A contribution is made in recounting events as seen by the Chagga, and especially for the life of the dynamic Sina of Kibosho, restoring that largely forgotten leader to his rightful place in Tanganyika's past. But with faults in use of both oral and written sources, the Chagga's history yet requires a careful scholar's efforts.

Boston University Norman R. Bennett

THE SMALL BRAVE CITY-STATE: A HISTORY OF NEMBE-BRASS IN THE NIGER DELTA. By *Ebiegberi Joe Alagoa.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. 173. $5.00.) The growing realization by scholars during this past decade that Africa does have a history has resulted in two very different kinds of historical writing: the general survey and the scholarly monograph. Although comprehensive histories of Africa are surprisingly numerous, they are, with few exceptions, the more unrewarding since their general analysis and their sweeping conclusions are based on a paucity of historical monographs. In reaction there has recently been a spate of excellent monographs, footnotes to history, but the reference materials from which more valid conclusions will be derived in the general surveys of the future. Mr. Alagoa has written just such a monograph on the history of Nembe-Brass in the Niger Delta, which is first a most useful contribution to the local history of the delta region and second a scholarly addition to the history of Nigeria as a whole. The son of the late chief Joseph Alagoa, the author is well equipped to fuse the oral traditions of the

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Nembe people with the more standard sources, both published and archival, and his description of the House System will be of value to anthropologists and political scientists as well as historians. He has published the more important oral traditions in the text and supplemented them with valuable appendixes of king lists, lists of consuls, and important documents defining relations between the British authorities and Nembe-Brass. The chapter on the Akassa War is particularly useful to the African historian, for the new evidence that he has presented elucidates that conflict from the African point of view. Although the book would have been considerably improved if the history of Nembe-Brass had been interpreted in the larger context of southern Nigeria, this would have broadened the scope of the work beyond the author's intention. Its principal weakness, therefore, is the author's failure to carry the history of Nembe-Brass well into the twentieth century. A concluding seven-page chapter on the interaction between Nembe-Brass and British rule in this century is simply not sufficient to understand or to assess the colossal impact of British administration, technology, and missions upon the people of Nembe-Brass. It is to be hoped that in the future Alagoa will continue his chronicle to the present.

Williams College ROBERT O. COLLINS

A HISTORY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA: EARLY DAYS TO 1953. By *L. H. Gann.* (New York: Humanities Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 478. $10.00.) L. H. Gann makes a solid contribution to African historical literature. This is the first volume in a series sponsored by the government of the Central African Federation. Subsequent volumes propose to relate the history of the other territories—Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland —and the federation as a whole. It is hoped that the recent dissolution of the federation will not terminate this project. The author begins with a short account of the early Bantu invasions and the unsuccessful efforts of the Portuguese to spread their influence into the hinterland of Angola and Mozambique. His account of the European penetration of Northern Rhodesia where "Missionaries and hunters, traders and gunrunners formed the advanced guard of white influence in Central Africa" is especially graphic. The greater portion of the book is devoted to Northern Rhodesia under British rule. The author is successful in giving the reader a vivid picture of political, economic, and social life in the area. At the same time he explains how developments in Europe, Britain, and adjacent areas are related to his theme. The impact of the two world wars on the history of Northern Rhodesia is treated with skill and insight. The final chapter, devoted to the formation of the federation, points out that much was done to achieve unity yet "the worlds of white men, brown men and black men stayed apart. The infinitely harder task of forging a new nation remains with the future." The dissolution of the federation in December 1963, followed by independence, suggests that the future belongs to the African. Permission was granted to use "closed" Northern Rhodesian and Colonial Office sources but subject to restrictions. References to these sources cannot be given; nor was it permissible to reveal the author of minutes or dispatches. The private papers of Sir Roy Welensky and Lord Malvern were likewise restricted. The published sources—secondary works, records of missionary societies, private collections, and business records—have been carefully exploited. The author interviewed many persons who participated in the making of Northern Rhodesia.

Temple University ARTHUR N. COOK

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF THE STANDARD BANK. Based upon unpublished material selected, assembled and presented by *J. A. Henry* and edited by *H. A. Siepmann.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 371. $7.20.) As the introduction confesses, this handsomely produced book is narrowly a "biography

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of a bank" and only "indirectly and incidentally, a contribution to the political, social, or economic history of South Africa." Probably compiled mainly from reports, statements, and analyses prepared annually for the bank, most of the chapters examine year by year and paragraph by paragraph the policies and actions of the Standard Bank in response to the changing South African economic scene. The book is thus plodding and unimaginative. Comparisons with other banks are lacking, and too little is done to assess the Standard Bank's role in the general financial and banking picture. More interesting glimpses of the Standard Bank as a pioneer in the diamond fields, in Rhodesia, and in East Africa are contained in several short chapters. Two highly important but technical chapters deal with the Standard Bank's role in the currency and exchange problems created by the First World War and by Britain's abandonment of the gold standard in 1931. These chapters, however, like other sections of the book, are almost unreadable for someone not knowledgeable about the problems of banking and foreign exchange generally and the South African situation in particular. Footnotes showing sources occur only in the first few chapters, and there is no bibliography. The introduction states, however, that "for purposes of this book the whole of the Bank's documentation both private and public, has been thrown open to inspection." Surprisingly, Amphlett's history of the Standard Bank, published in 1914, is unmentioned in text or notes, and the author and editor fail to show in text or references where they concur or differ from such regularly quoted older studies as E. H. D. Arndt's *Banking and Currency Development in South Africa* or the writings of M. H. De Kock. Considering the importance of the Standard Bank as an institution and the availability to the author of the bank's archives, therefore, the book is a disappointment to the historian. Nor is it easy to believe that the bank was always as aloof from crucial political problems in South Africa as its "biographers" contend.

California State College, Long Beach RICHARD H. WILDE

Asia and the East

CONFUCIAN CHINA AND ITS MODERN FATE. Volume II, THE PROBLEM OF MONARCHICAL DECAY. By *Joseph R. Levenson.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 178. $5.00.) In this second volume of *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate,* Professor Levenson seeks to explain the decline of Confucianism in institutional terms. Recognizing the intimate relations between Chinese institutions and Confucianism, he examines the modern transformation of the monarchy and bureaucracy and analyzes its effects on the doctrine. Confucianism as represented by modern advocates is no longer the same as traditional Confucianism. As the doctrine changes its nature, it fails to elicit the old responses. Levenson finds that the strength of traditional Confucianism lies in the tension between monarchy and bureaucracy. It is the confrontation of the two, with the Confucian bureaucrats checking the monarchy, that has kept Confucianism alive with a tense vitality. When Confucianists and monarchy infuse their interests, the tension is lost, and Confucianism is reduced to a vestige. In pursuing the idea of confrontation, Levenson considers Confucian bureaucrats as a group with all the consciousness of a social class. Chinese history is thus seen as a series of struggles—between monarchy and aristocracy, between Confucian bureaucrats and monarchy. This emphasis on confrontation and conflicts leads to a disregard of the unifying influences of Confucianism which teaches social harmony. It magnifies the self-interest of the so-called contending groups, while minimizing their common faith in the doctrine itself. Granted that the tension between Confucianists and monarchy plays a significant role in the life of Confucianism, it is doubtful that the relaxation of such tension, as a

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cause of the modern decline of Confucianism, is more important than the impact of the West. But Levenson's theory is a stimulating one. If it is not a complete interpretation of the decay of the Confucian monarchy, it illuminates many aspects of the problem.

New York University CHESTER C. TAN

LA CHINE À L'AUBE DU XX[e] SIÈCLE: LES RELATIONS DIPLOMATIQUES DE LA CHINE AVEC LES PUISSANCES DEPUIS LA GUERRE SINO-JAPONAISE JUSQU'À LA GUERRE RUSSO-JAPONAISE. By *Lung Chang.* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines. 1962. Pp. 502.) According to Lung Chang, the significance of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 is that it "marked a decisive turning point in the history of the Far East" and "modified radically the destinies of the countries of that part of the globe." In support of this contention, the author has reviewed four major diplomatic problems during the decade succeeding the war: the Korean question and the diplomacy of the war itself, the "danger" of the dismemberment of China by the Powers, the Boxer movement, and the questions concerning Manchuria and Tibet. The complex diplomatic activity of this period, caused by the machinations and shifting policies of the Western Powers and the emergence of Japan as a Power in its own right, is carefully and fully narrated and supported by copious documentation and a liberal utilization of appropriate quotations. Causal explanations and an unadorned, precise style of French prose provide a readable presentation of East Asian diplomatic history for this important decade. Although the interpretation of events generally expresses valid and familiar views, there is less analytical sophistication than the reader would expect. Little effort is made to explain the response of Chinese leadership to the cross-pollination of Western, technological, and political thought with Neo-Confucian doctrine. Such consideration would add greater meaning to the shallow efforts at reform to which the author refers, but does not evaluate critically. The extensive praise given to Li Hung-chang is also questionable, particularly since his significance is minimized at this time by his "failure" in the peace negotiations that ended the Sino-Japanese War. The extensive use of published German, French, British, and Chinese documents is commendable. The author's neglect of Japanese documents, however, is inexplicable, especially since they have been published (for example, *Nihon Gaiko Bunsho*) and microfilmed (with copies available at the Library of Congress and the National Diet Library in Japan). The importance of Japan's diplomatic involvement in this period is matched by Russia, and yet no Russian sources are indicated, although those pertaining to the tripartite intervention (1895) were translated in the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (XVIII [July 1934]). Moreover, such a standard work as Harold M. Vinacke's *A History of the Far East in Modern Times* has been revised many times since 1928, and the omission of William L. Langer's *The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890–1902,* is also puzzling. Nevertheless, the book merits consultation by those who seek a thorough review of East Asian diplomatic history at the "dawn of the twentieth century."

University of Wisconsin LEONARD GORDON

THE WORLD OF THE SHINING PRINCE: COURT LIFE IN ANCIENT JAPAN. By *Ivan Morris.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. xv, 336. $5.95.) This is a fascinating, literate book; it charms the "general reader" and instructs the specialist. Ivan Morris sets out to paint a magic-realist portrait of the life and times of Heian, based mainly on *The Tale of Genji,* the literary diaries of court ladies, and the famous *Pillow Book,* although these by no means exhaust the author's wide range of materials, both Japanese and Western. Perhaps it is because the *Genji* and other fiction of the period are the intimate mirror of people rather than the simple report of events

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that the author's account "lives" for us. Morris competently treads the fine line between historical writing, that is, the exposing of facts and happenings, and the art of historical interpretation. His picture of Heian is a thoughtful one, conceived by a scholar thoroughly conversant with his subject. Morris divides his discussion into ten chapters. He treats the historical aspects of his subject in "The Heian Period," "The Setting," and "Politics and Society"—background material skillfully presented, which never falls into a simple listing of events. "Religion and Superstitions" provides one of the most fascinating discussions in the book, with many citations on the subject from his fiction sources. Three chapters deal with the "good people" (*yoki hito*) of the capital, their life, and their cult of beauty, with an engrossing discussion of the "Women of Heian and Their Relations with Men." Book blurbs are notoriously unreliable indications of the texts they describe. The one from the jacket of this book is an exception, for it is no exaggeration: "*The World of the Shining Prince* makes accessible and real one of the brightest civilizations in history, hitherto only glimpsed by readers of *The Tale of Genji*."

University of Pennsylvania E. Dale Saunders

MURSHID QULĪ KHĀN AND HIS TIMES. By *Abdul Karim*. [Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications, Number 12.] ([Dacca:] the Society. 1963. Pp. ix, 284. Rs. 15.) This is a descriptive monograph. It attempts to illuminate yet another dark corner of late Mogul history. Murshid Quli Khan, a Brahman boy purchased and brought up as the son of a Mogul noble, became an able and trusted servant of the Emperor Aurangzeb. When imperial power in Bengal faltered, he was sent from Hyderabad to restore that province to central control. From 1704 until his death in 1727, he was a dominating figure in the politics of Bengal. His career spanned the final years of the last of the great Mogul emperors, wars of succession for the imperial throne, palace revolutions engineered by such powerful ministers as the dreaded Syed brothers, and hastening processes of disintegration within the Empire. Drawing upon an impressive collection of Persian, Bengali, and European manuscript and printed sources, most of which he found in London (where he submitted this study as a Ph.D. thesis), the author gives us a useful, carefully documented narrative of his hero's accomplishments. But, while he tries to vindicate if not exalt the reputation of Murshid Quli Khan (in language that occasionally loses restraint), he also gives us much detail concerning the affairs of the European companies in Bengal, especially of the Nawab's relations with the English. Nearly half of the text is devoted to this interesting, though subordinate, theme. He shows little mercy for readers who might be unacquainted with the technical intricacies and vocabulary of Mogul names, titles, and administrative terms. (No glossary is provided.) A more serious disappointment awaits the person who surmounts the semantic barrier. No new perspective helps us to gain a better understanding of the underlying forces and processes that were moving within Bengali society. The eyes of the author are too firmly fixed on the path at his feet, lest he trip and stumble over the myriad facts strewn in his way. Few will dispute his industry or its usefulness. Some may doubt the originality of his approach and analysis. The pathway seems so old and worn.

University of Wisconsin Robert Eric Frykenberg

FORT WILLIAM–INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO. Volume XV, FOREIGN AND SECRET, 1782–1786. Edited by *C. H. Philips* and *B. B. Misra*. [Indian Records Series.] (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1963. Pp. xliv, 905.) The latest volume in this well-known series contains an extremely clear description of the East India Company's administrative system by the

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two distinguished editors. These introductory pages might well be recommended to all who are beginning any study of Indian affairs in this period. These last years of Warren Hastings' governor-generalship provide many insights into the problems confronting British administrators as they consolidated their power: the restitution of the French and Dutch possessions after the peace of 1783, the plans for new outposts, for example, Diego Garcia, the Nicobars, the necessity of financial retrenchment and reform, the stabilization of relations with "country-powers" through more regular appointment of "residents" and agents. This volume contains much illustrative material —enclosures, intelligence reports, copies of correspondence with other presidencies— accompanying both the outward and homeward dispatches. Much of this is extremely useful, especially such pieces as Alexander Dalrymple's memoir concerning the passages to and from China and intelligence reports on French military adventurers, but it is hard to see what purpose is served by printing here the King's speech on the opening of Parliament in December 1782, or a French document or a British cypher side by side with the translation. These volumes are now approximately a thousand pages each; they would be less unwieldy and more serviceable if the many paragraphs in the dispatches concerning appointments and routine matters were editorially summarized between brackets in a sentence or two.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A THEIST AND AN IDOLATER: AN 1820 TRACT PROBABLY BY RAMMOHUN ROY. Edited with an introduction by *Stephen N. Hay.* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1963. Pp. iv, 200. Rs. 15.) Here is a fascinating piece of historical detective work. In a private Calcutta library Professor Hay personally discovered an obscure pamphlet in English: *A Tract against the Prevailing System of Hindoo Idolatry* by Brajamohan Debashya. The title of the present edition is Hay's translation of the original Bengali title. By an ingenious, step-by-step analysis of internal and external evidence, he establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the pamphlet is the work of Rammohun Roy and is, perhaps, his most important single effort, marking a turning point in his literary career. Hay is careful to leave open the possibility that Roy merely contributed to the writing, but one feels after reading the evidence that actual authorship is the overwhelming probability. The editor's introduction runs fifty pages, and the tract in Bengali and English texts, together with the original notes, consumes another hundred and fifty. If the Bengali text and the notes are subtracted, we have a pamphlet of about sixty-five pages in six sections of imaginary dialogue between Roy (a theist) and an anonymous Hindu (an idolater). In reading the six sections of text, one is struck by the thoroughness and profound erudition with which Roy marshals the various issues and arguments concerning popular devotional Hinduism. On the other hand, while the puritanical and naïve misconceptions which at times characterize his outlook and which he employs to condemn the use of images certainly made a favorable impression on the Christian missionaries and many of the Bengali intelligentsia, the arguments must have amused the more sophisticated (and unvocal) traditionalists of Roy's day as much as they would a contemporary philosophical theologian or psychologist of the caliber of Tillich or Jung. The very use of the term "idolatry" in the context of the tract is reminiscent of Marco Polo and medieval European provincialism. No doubt, in Roy's case it had Islamic origins and symbolized for him the degeneracy and gross superstition that he saw throughout sectarian Hinduism. But "idolatry" in any meaningful sense in contemporary scholarly terminology bears little resemblance to Roy's usage. For this reason, I would have been much happier had Hay used the term in quotation marks or otherwise avoided giving the impression that the word "idolatry" can today be considered viable in Roy's sense. In contrast to popular dictionary usage, Tillich's first volume of

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Systematic Theology reveals something much more complex than the mere use of a stone or wooden image as the subject of idolatry. The intellectual historian can no longer afford to ignore modern studies in analytical theology. Certainly their insights are compulsory for an assessment of such figures as Roy, who himself would hardly have written this same *Tract* could he have known, for instance, Eliade's *The Sacred and the Profane* or Zimmer's *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. That the editor's introduction might have benefited from such analysis is suggested by his contention that Roy "scrutinized with a dispassionate eye the traditions of his own countrymen." Roy's theistic bias is all too evident in his brilliant sarcasm and rhetorical distortion of traditional Hindu apologetics. Aside from these considerations, it must be said that the editor has done a difficult and painstaking job of historical research with remarkable skill. The introduction is a substantial work of scholarship that reveals various facets of the remarkable character of Roy. Hay is undoubtedly correct in characterizing him as the man whose "synthesis of Hindu, Islamic and European cultural elements . . . became . . . the ideological basis for the Indian nationalist movement."

University of California, Santa Barbara D. MACKENZIE BROWN

INDIAN NATIONALISM AND HINDU SOCIAL REFORM. By *Charles H. Heimsath*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 379. $8.50.) The social reform movement of nineteenth- and twentieth-century India has seldom been adequately analyzed or fully enough described. Charles Heimsath's book is the best recent effort to present comprehensive information and a fresh interpretation of the subject. Compared with S. Natarajan's *A Century of Social Reform* (1962), Heimsath's book probes the complexity of the movement, definitively covers both local and all-India reform efforts, and provides some significant generalizations, especially on the relationship between social reform and nationalism. Indian statesmen and intellectuals are deeply involved in these things and may well be dissatisfied with some of his generalizations, but it is important to have a new viewpoint, particularly one so fully substantiated. Criticisms, nevertheless, are in order. On showing how the Hindu Bakhti movement, representing traditional social and religious protest, failed to generate the modern social reform movement, Heimsath then suggests that much of the movement "originated from secular motives based on rationalistic critiques of society." This cautious statement may mean less than one first supposes, but from the labors of Christian missionaries to the involvement of the Hindu revivalists, such as Vivekananda, Aurobindo, and Mrs. Besant, the religious basis of social protest was strong. Have not rationalistic and utilitarian influences lately been overemphasized? Ranade, the rationalistic leader of the movement, ended his career as a lonely failure, amid the overwhelming opposition of the Hindu revivalists. Ram Mohan Roy, who reflected the political program of early nineteenth-century utilitarians, has been made the forefather of social reform. Yet, aside from his modest part in the abolition of suttee, what social reforms did he introduce and advocate? The real social reform movement came several decades later. Heimsath's handling of the nineteenth-century revivalists is also disconcerting. He writes that Vivekananda's thought "marked the culmination of the 19th century social revolt." Yet Vivekananda, as Heimsath shows later, was a major critic of the social reformers and contributed nothing to their efforts. The trouble, perhaps, is the ambiguous use of the term social revolt, which sometimes includes social reform and sometimes means a protest against evils in both Western and Hindu society. Heimsath further suggests that early twentieth-century social reformers found in Vivekananda's revivalism "the strongest possible ally." Nehru's socialism would seem to be a better ally. Despite such criticisms, the book has many merits. It will unquestionably stimulate fruitful discussion and study. It

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represents a giant step in our advancing knowledge of the modern development of Indian society.

Bowdoin College GEORGE BEARCE

THE LAST YEARS OF BRITISH INDIA. By *Michael Edwardes.* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1964. Pp. viii, 248. $5.95.) One is at something of a loss in attempting to evaluate this book for a professional journal because it is not history in the accepted sense of the word; nor for that matter is it an autobiography although the author was in India during at least part of the period covered in the volume. It contains no bibliography, no notice of sources that may have been used, no footnotes or citations, and only a few direct quotations. Sources are not given for the rare direct quotations, thus frustrating the academic who might want to follow through on a line of investigation suggested by a fragmentary quotation or an interesting assertion. The book is, instead, a contribution, in essay style, to the growing list of semipopular interpretations of what seems to have happened in the course of the transfer of power in the Indian subcontinent. I assume that, in such cases, if the insights and opinions provided by the author happen to agree with those of the reader, the latter will "like" the book. In this particular case, it would have helped if the author had made more explicit what his own part was in the events about which he writes. The first part of the volume is a rapid but literate survey of British Indian history, frequently touched by a slightly arch style. If one knows the literature, it is clear that the author has done his "homework," even if it is a bit shallow. At the same time, there are questionable generalizations and a few bald inaccuracies. The second section concentrates on the period between the First World War and the victory of the British Labour party at the end of World War II. This portion is all too brief and, perhaps as a result, superficial. The heart of the book is in the third part, which covers the years from 1945 to the actual transfer of power. Though almost wholly undocumented, it is the best part of the book and includes some valuable insights. It is to be assumed that the educated layman can find the volume both interesting and informative. For the specialist it presents little if any new information. There is, however, an interesting "theme" running through the book: the transfer of power took place because the British public matured sufficiently to take power and, since the Indian Empire was of no benefit to them, they decided to cut it adrift. Hobson was right after all!

Duke University ROBERT I. CRANE

A SURVEY OF RECENT STUDIES ON MODERN INDIAN HISTORY. By *K. K. Datta.* (2d ed.; Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1963. Pp. 115. Rs. 8.) This work, originally prepared in 1957 at the suggestion of Mr. Chadbourne Gilpatric of the Rockefeller Foundation, has been brought up to date in a second edition. As Dr. Datta, now vice-chancellor of Magadh University at Gaya, is a leading authority in the field, the coverage is thorough, and the comments are pertinent. No specialist can afford to neglect this bibliographical survey. Unfortunately, its form presents serious obstacles to anyone who is embarking on a study of modern Indian history. There is neither a subject nor author index for the large number of titles that are listed in the body of the text without comment. The views expressed about books are too often interspersed with views about India's role in world affairs and other matters which, however informative, are out of place in a bibliographical essay. The pages most useful to the specialist are those devoted to local and regional history.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

MALAYA. By *J. M. Gullick.* [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. 256. $6.95.) In recent years, students of Malaya have been

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treated to a spate of monographs or to accounts of the Communist war in that country. A general book—both informed and balanced on various aspects of Malayan history, politics, economics, and society—has been badly needed. Not since Rupert Emerson wrote his *Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (1937) and Lennox Mills his *British Rule in Eastern Asia* (1942) has there been a truly first-rate general volume on Malaya. Gullick's book does not measure up to the Mills in comprehensiveness or to the Emerson in depth of understanding. It is, however, a good, balanced account of Malaya and for this reason is most welcome. Gullick is best when discussing political history and policy. His treatment of the growth of nationalism is good, and his chapter on events leading to independence in 1957 is very good. His pages on economic history are, however, only adequate. He repeats without questioning such well-known but dubious statements as that the Chinese Protectorate protected the Chinese laborer, that the power of the Chinese secret societies was broken in 1890, and that the Indian Immigration Fund "met the needs" of the Indian immigrant. His remark that Indian immigration reached its peak later than Chinese immigration and profited by experience with the Chinese is altogether inaccurate. The chapters on recent and current economic policy, particularly in respect to development planning, are fair. Gullick is well qualified to write about Malaya. A former civil servant with more than ten years service in the country, he has written several creditable monographs. He writes with a sympathy and understanding of Malaya and its people but also with an objectivity befitting the scholar.

Northern Illinois University J. Norman Parmer

A HISTORY OF THE POST OFFICE IN NEW ZEALAND. By *Howard Robinson.* (Wellington: R. E. Owen, Government Printer. 1964. Pp. xvi, 280. 35*s.*) The author, who is probably the leading scholar of British postal history, concentrated on this work a lifetime of experience and expertise. By its nature this is a book of rather limited interest. Somehow, however, the unruffled, easy unfolding of the history of a post-office system in a distinctive area of the British colonial frontier exerts a charm and compels some attention. The scope commends itself to the orthodox student of narrative history, and the first four chapters encompass the backgrounds in eighteenth-century England, influences from the postal reforms in England in the 1840's, and then the wild first days of mails in the earliest phase of New Zealand settlement by the sea wanderers and by the official British on the North Island: foot post, Maori runners, and a sort of pony express by mounted government troopers. Accounts are given of the administrative procedures and the temperamental problems of early postal officials (seemingly entitled, along with cooks and barbers, to be temperamental), fittings of postal offices, routes, and post-office fires. Thereafter the chapters offer a postal parallel to the general expansion, through peace and Maori wars, in the islands of New Zealand, during the era of Grey's governorship, and then, with responsible government, a major reorganization of the post office in 1858. The following chapters outline early marine history; development of cable and telegraph in the 1860's; the appearance from Australia of the Yankee coach firm of Cobb and Company, the railways, linking up with the British All Red cable route; the rivalry between Australian colonies; and among the shipping companies, the Peninsular and Oriental, Shaw Savill, and Union Steamship Company. The exigencies of the two world wars reveal the geographical isolation of New Zealand vividly and provide some lively episodes. Having once enjoyed the hazards of a transpacific voyage on New Zealand's Union Steamship Company's old mail packet, the second *Aorangi,* I can acknowledge the validity of Professor Robinson's detail and color when he deals with the twentieth-century transportation and communication arrangements in the concluding seven chapters. He

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has sensibly emphasized men and events rather than institutional and administrative aspects of the postal system, although the last is not neglected.

Colgate University CHARLES S. BLACKTON

Americas

EARLY AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR MAKERS. By *Silvio A. Bedini.* [Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, Bulletin Number 231.] (Washington, D. C.: Museum of History and Technology, the Institution. 1964. Pp. xii, 184. $1.00.) This book may be, as the author states, merely a preliminary compilation, but the response must be not merely that a preliminary compilation is better than none at all but that Mr. Bedini is underrating his achievement. He has made a real contribution to the history of both science and technology in the United States. He is undoubtedly correct in pointing out the exhaustive research that would be needed to make a complete study of scientific instruments and their makers in the American colonies. We are, however, justified in assuming from the thoroughness manifest in this volume that he has both identified the principal figures and established recognizable patterns for the kind of work they did. Several features stand out. One is the various origins of the instrument makers. Most were craftsmen trained through apprenticeship, but some, like the Rittenhouses and Andrew Ellicott, came from well-to-do families, and one, Benjamin Banneker, was a self-taught free Negro. Another is the expected fact that wood was extensively used by American instrument makers, but it would be most interesting to have further study made of why wooden instruments were made in New England and not elsewhere. It is clear, as might also have been anticipated, that the preponderant demand was for instruments for practical purposes such as surveying and navigation. Excellently illustrated, this book has a catalogue of known colonial instrument makers, classified alphabetically, geographically, and according to the type of instrument in which they specialized. Missing is an evaluation of the quality and accuracy of these instruments. The fact that many of them have been preserved after prolonged use is testimony in their favor, but it ought to be possible to make some judgment on, for example, the calibration of these surviving models. This is, however, a minor flaw. The history of instrumentation is one of the most vital and least cultivated fields in the area of the history of science, and Bedini is to be complimented for a well-executed pioneering study.

Harvey Mudd College JOHN B. RAE

LAUDONNIERE & FORT CAROLINE: HISTORY AND DOCUMENTS. By *Charles E. Bennett.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 191. $6.00.) The author, a United States representative from Florida, has the distinction of having the best roll call record in the House. He now has presented us with a fairly meritorious book that deals with the fascinating episode of French Florida of the sixteenth century. Bennett's book has positive and negative features. Sixty pages represent the text, and the rest are English translations of documents. The text is readable and well organized, but lacks data from new primary sources. Woodbury Lowery's classic *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States* is still the best source with its depth, scholarship, and true style. Bennett has failed to improve upon Lowery. His thirty-one notes show standard sources; the absence of Ch. De La Roncière's *La Florida française* (1928) and Paul Gaffarel's *Histoire de la Florida française* (1875) is most deplorable. Bennett's text shows a genuine love for his subject, which often denotes a lack of critical thinking. The selection of documents is commendable. Nearly all come from printed sources, and Bennett's efforts to make some readable

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must be applauded. A few of his accepted translations by Brooks, Averette, and Wenhold should have been reworked as these three were inadequate translators, and our own research had to ignore all their early translations done in St. Augustine. Even if Lowery's work is still a classic, Bennett's book is modern and appeals to a greater audience. The professional historian might have his doubts. But Bennett, an admirable politician, has gone halfway to meet historians' criticisms. He and his book should be given qualified praise and full acceptance.

University of South Florida CHARLES W. ARNADE

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF SPANISH FLORIDA, 1700–1763. By *John Jay TePaske.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 248. $7.50.) Dr. TePaske's well-organized and clearly written volume is a thorough study of the governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700–1763. After a survey of the origins of the office and the formal restrictions upon it, the author turns to the study of the judicial, economic, religious, defense, and Indian problems of the fifteen governors who held the office. The volume concludes with an evaluation of the governorship, three appendixes listing the governors of Florida, of Cuba, and the viceroys of New Spain for the period involved, and a bibliography. There are an index and two maps. TePaske competently examines the origins, duties, and obligations attached to the office of governor. His study of the *residencia* is a contribution in that the author clearly shows that this device acted as no check upon governors. Similarly he provides new insights into the difficulties of administration of justice by Spanish governors whose military backgrounds made them unfit for handling civil cases. As a solid basis for considering the problems with the Church, defense, and Indians, the author explains clearly and with overwhelming detail the operation of the *situado,* or supply system that supported the colony. His work here, as is true of all his chapters, rests upon extensive use of documentary materials. For this reason he makes new contributions to the economic history of Florida and illuminates its relations with Cuba and New Spain. His survey of the defense of the colony and Indian policy traces the international rivalry of Spain and England, a subject also surveyed by Bolton in his *Arredondo.* TePaske, however, has added greatly to Bolton's contribution by his use of Spanish sources, whereas Bolton relied principally upon English materials. One needs Bolton's maps to follow the author's narrative. Here, also, to show the wider implications of the struggle, TePaske could have utilized Dunn's basic work on international rivalry in the gulf region and Boyd's on the Apalache missions. One can agree wholeheartedly with the general conclusion that Spanish governors, in spite of great difficulties, held Florida until 1763. One can also agree that TePaske has provided a model for all future studies of the office of governor in other borderland provinces.

University of Alabama ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE FRENCH & BRITISH IN THE OLD NORTHWEST: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO ARCHIVE AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES. By *Henry Putney Beers.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1964. Pp. 297. $11.50.) The scope and purpose of this work can best be described in the author's own words: "This volume presents an historical account of the acquisition, preservation, and publication by American and Canadian institutions of the original records created by French and British officials in the Old Northwest . . . chiefly during the eighteenth century, and of officials and governing bodies of Canada relating to that region." The area covered "includes Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, with some reference to the western portions of Pennsylvania and New York." Dr. Beers has mastered the art of being both precise and concise, and the amount of information given is astonishing. The historical notes, for example, give so many

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exact dates that in spite of their brevity they are in themselves a most convenient ready reference. The character, extent, history, and location of all the chief archival and manuscript sources relating to the region are noted, and the existence and whereabouts of photocopies and transcripts are recorded as well. Inevitably some entries are incomplete or out of date, but the book will long be a basic reference. The sixty-page list of bibliographical sources is an additional convenience. Any scholar or library seriously concerned with the history of the Old Northwest will find this volume invaluable.

Public Archives of Canada W. KAYE LAMB

PROVINCE AND COURT RECORDS OF MAINE. Volume V, THE COURT RECORDS OF YORK COUNTY, MAINE, PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, APRIL, 1711–OCTOBER, 1718. Edited by *Neal W. Allen, Jr.* (Portland: Maine Historical Society. 1964. Pp. lviii, 250. $18.00.) This volume, essentially a continuation of Volume IV in the series, makes available the judgment or record book of two York County courts: the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, exercising original, transfer, and appellate jurisdiction on the civil side (largely actions involving accounts or proprietary or possessory rights in land) and the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, exercising original and appellate jurisdiction in minor criminal matters. Related file papers are calendared, extracted, or set forth *in extenso,* depending upon their significance. On appeals to the Superior Court of Judicature the disposition on appeal is noted, and relevant documents from the Superior Court files are reproduced. The editing by Professor Allen (his second) maintains the high level of competency associated with this series since its inception in 1928. The introduction supplements the records with biographical data on the more important litigants, justices, and attorneys. Particularly valuable are the editor's comments on the significance of the records as a facet of the social and economic history of an area in a period of transition from a "northern march" to a more settled county following Queen Anne's War. A summary view of the jurisdiction of the two courts and their places in the judicial establishment of the province refers the reader to a fuller discussion in the introduction to the previous volume. A section entitled "Law and Justice" discusses briefly the few references to rules of substantive law, some procedural aspects, and the principal causes or offenses handled by the courts. In his appraisal of the role of the York County courts the editor appears to accept at face value Jeremiah Dummer's view (about 1715) that New England practice provided simpler, swifter, and less corrupt justice than in England. To me, Dummer's conclusion was special pleading and failed to take into account many characteristics of Massachusetts Bay practice that made for uncertainty and delay. Similarly, it seems of dubious value to say that the colonists had produced "a layman's version of English legal institutions." While the subject of institutional influences is complex, it is likely that "common law" procedure in the Bay Colony was as much molded by practices consciously derived from Chancery, English local custom, and the ecclesiastical courts as by the modifications of laymen with poor remembrance and little understanding of English practice. These expertly edited records are a valuable addition to the few printed eighteenth-century court records. We trust the series will be extended (the records for the two courts exist in unbroken sequence to 1772) so as to afford historians a unique view of the development of American colonial law at the county level in a jurisdiction noted for its deviations from the laws of England.

Columbia University JOSEPH H. SMITH

THE DIARY OF COTTON MATHER, D.D., F.R.S., FOR THE YEAR 1712. Edited with an introduction and notes by *William R. Manierre II.* (Charlottesville:

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University Press of Virginia. 1964. Pp. xxvii, 143. $6.00.) Cotton Mather's diary for 1712, which recounts the fiftieth year of his life, has long remained out of the reach of scholars thirsting for its publication. For many years its location was unknown. When it briefly emerged from hiding in the early nineteenth century, the editors of *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* (XII–XVI [1816–20]) published about 70 per cent of its contents. Their editorial work, however, was shoddy and frequently distorted. When Worthington Chauncey Ford published his two-volume *Diary of Cotton Mather* (1911–12), the manuscript for 1712 was again out of sight. It reappeared after World War I and subsequently was acquired by the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, where it is presently housed. Manierre's edition of Mather's diary of 1712 is a masterful job. The annotations reflect wide research and judicious editorial judgment. In his introduction, Manierre wisely eschews biographical data and instead analyzes Mather's thought as revealed by his diary entries for 1712. It is a distinguished piece of writing and analysis, marked by clarity of expression and richness in ideas. As for the diary, it represents "more of same" to those who have struggled up the Everest of bibliography compiled by the brilliant but neurotic Puritan high priest. Traditional Matherian traits are manifested: the disdain for detail and a superfluity of maddening abstractions; the cosmic approach to personal problems; deep-seated God-consciousness; profound introspection; the boundless passion to "do good"; the providential interpretation of history; a predilection for new science and old superstition; didactic moralizing; colossal egocentrism. Teeming with staple Puritan ideas and attitudes, Mather's diary of 1712 is another vade mecum of New England Puritanism. Manierre's work is a welcome addition to the bibliography of early American history.

Cincinnati Historical Society LOUIS L. TUCKER

PROLOGUE TO INDEPENDENCE: THE TRIALS OF JAMES ALEXANDER, AMERICAN, 1715–1756. By *Henry Noble MacCracken.* (New York: James H. Heineman. 1964. Pp. vii, 187. $4.95.) In 1963, the Belknap Press of Harvard published Stanley N. Katz's edition of James Alexander's *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger.* This publication did something to redeem Alexander from the near oblivion into which he had fallen. Dr. MacCracken's volume, a deep probe into many original materials, does even more; it depicts this colonial worthy not only as lawyer and journalist, but also as surveyor, public servant, scholar, and man of affairs, and it does so in a highly readable fashion. Still, however, the most interesting aspect of this biography is Alexander's involvement in the Zenger case. Despite Katz's introduction to his *Narrative,* Alexander has remained a less well-known figure than Zenger. More purposefully and in more detail than Katz, MacCracken demonstrates that of the two men, Alexander was the more significant. He was a principal actor in the Zenger drama, both behind the scenes and before the footlights, while Zenger was little more than his courageous agent. To be sure, the legal principles on which Zenger's acquittal for the crime of seditious libel was based were not at the time fully accepted. The whole transaction was indeed nearly forgotten, but as the author observes "it entered the unread but nonetheless permanent record of the time. Today under the threat of decay or destruction of free institutions, it takes a new significance. James Alexander's name may again become a part of our national heritage." MacCracken's biography and Katz's introduction to Alexander's own *Narrative* will both contribute to help this prophecy come true.

State University of New York at Buffalo JOHN T. HORTON

THE EXAMINED SELF: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN; HENRY ADAMS; HENRY JAMES. By *Robert F. Sayre.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp.

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xiii, 212. $4.75.) This is an interesting book on a neglected subject. Mr. Sayre rightly insists that autobiography, which has been remarkably important in American intellectual history, is a literary genre no less valuable than fiction, and, especially in his chapters on Henry James, he refuses to consider the autobiography of a man of letters as a mere adjunct to other literary achievements. *The Examined Self* examines at length three major works of American literature: *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, The Education of Henry Adams,* and the two parts of Henry James's autobiography, *A Small Boy and Others* and *Notes of a Son and Brother.* Sayre also draws some interpretative and historical lines connecting these three works, and he uses them as types representing different possibilities for the American autobiographer. Thus Franklin's autobiography is the "formless" work of a man trying out different roles as he writes at different times during his career in the earliest days of the republic. Adams and James, on the other hand, attend closely to "form" as a way of facing the formlessness of life a century later. Adams writes a "public" autobiography, concentrating chiefly on his relation to great public issues and to intellectual issues of his time; thus the decision to write the *Education* becomes the climax of his book, the commitment "to invent a formula of his own for his universe." James's volumes trace the growth of the artist's consciousness. The best part of Sayre's book is his discussion of the relationship between Adams and James, and particularly his use of their correspondence to emphasize their divergent attitudes toward political drama and political power before he shows the effect of these divergencies in their autobiographies. Though often persuasive, Sayre's criticism of the autobiographies themselves suffers from occasional lapses into summary; from a neglect of the crucial distinction between what Adams perhaps meant to achieve in the *Education* and what he did in fact achieve on the printed page; from a similar obscurity in the term "form," which allows him to declare that James's "story held within it an order and structure of its own, confirmed by his very existence as the man he was and the memory he possessed, so that in a sense all he had to do was let it out."

Stanford University DAVID LEVIN

THE MEANING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Dan Lacy.* [NAL-World Book.] ([New York:] New American Library. 1964. Pp. 308. $5.95.) In his preface Mr. Lacy says that most of this book was written "on the tremulous commuter trains of the New York Central." Perhaps, despite the ill repute of such conveyances, historians should copy the example of Lacy, for he has managed to do a very good book. The author of *The Meaning of the American Revolution* does not claim to make an original contribution to scholarship. Using extensively the works of specialists, he offers a narrative covering the period 1763–1789, together with comment upon the goals and achievements of the revolutionary generation. He seems to believe that his comment is of greater importance than his factual coverage. There are no grievous shortcomings in his interpretations. Lacy has also written a smooth, quite accurate, and substantial narrative. In sum, he has produced a well-rounded one-volume account of the Revolution.

Duke University JOHN R. ALDEN

LOYALISTS AND REDCOATS: A STUDY IN BRITISH REVOLUTIONARY POLICY. By *Paul H. Smith.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1964. Pp. xii, 199. $5.00.) In the increasing study of the important role of the loyalists in the course of the American Revolution, this slender and attractive volume is helpful and stimulating, but by its proportions and treatment, inadequate. Professor Smith has summarized clearly, however, the often unrealized part that these loyal Americans played in British revo-

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lutionary policy as well as in the military outcome of the war itself. It is repeatedly shown that from the stinging outset of the revolt, British officials not only believed the war would be over within months, but naïvely felt that the loyalists were a potent majority in the colonies and, if properly utilized, could aid effectively in putting down the impertinent uprising. Yet just as consistently, throughout the war, the response of those remaining loyal to the King fell short of royal expectations, usually because of inadequate military support by his own forces in America. Significant battles in which the loyalists were importantly involved are hardly more than mentioned in the book. The sprightly conflict at Moore's Creek Bridge in North Carolina, for instance, is not thoroughly explained, although this engagement, which saw a sizable body of patriots clash with Highland Scots—the latter being routed—had a major influence in dampening the ardor of the royal sympathizers throughout the region. Neither are the Battle of Cowpens, where doughty Daniel Morgan defeated the best regulars that Cornwallis could throw at him, and the unique engagement at King's Mountain in which only loyalists were used against the rebels given sufficient treatment. Too, the author sometimes arrives at rather positive conclusions, which, despite admirable footnotes, do not always appear to be fully substantiated. He touches upon a vital reason for lack of loyalist enthusiasm for military service: the shabby structure of the provincial regiments in which eminent loyalists were put under the command of amateur English peasants. For too long the British government overestimated the strength of its American counterparts, then failed to back up many who did turn out. This book nonetheless does add to our knowledge of the Revolution from the other side.

New York University NORTH CALLAHAN

DECISION AT THE CHESAPEAKE. By *Harold A. Larrabee.* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter. 1964. Pp. xvii, 317. $5.00.) A sometimes useful way to establish a new line of scholarly inquiry is to set up as a straw man the accepted idea and then to demolish it thoroughly, at the same time presenting the new view. A knowledgeable retired professor of philosophy does just that in maintaining that the naval action between the French and the British off the Virginia Capes on September 5, 1781, determined the outcome of the American Revolution. But most scholars have long since agreed that this was a warranted estimate, and so here the straw man quickly becomes a windmill. Of the book's nearly three hundred pages, only forty are devoted to the actual battle, and no new sources are used. The remaining portion sets the stage and follows the consequences through the siege at Yorktown. The author does this by relying heavily on character vignettes of the political and military leaders involved. He finds George III "ignorant, narrow-minded, and unimaginative," and leans on previous evaluations by Pemberton, Butterfield, and others. Similarly, he draws on Professor Willcox' analysis of Clinton, and so on. Professor Larrabee's book, then, contributes little new, but by able synthesis and good writing he manages to infuse the men with life and to give dramatic color to the events about which he tells —and that for most of us is recommendation enough.

University of Hong Kong W. PATRICK STRAUSS

THE LAW PRACTICE OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON: DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY. Volume I. *Julius Goebel, Jr.,* Editor. *Francis K. Decker, Jr., et al.,* Associate Editors. (New York: Columbia University Press under the auspices of the William Nelson Cromwell Foundation. 1964. Pp. xxiv, 898. $18.50.) Alexander Hamilton was, above all, a masterful advocate—in the army, in the New York legislature, in the Continental Congress, in the Annapolis and Philadelphia conventions, in the newspapers, in the Treasury, and, not least, in the courts. With important intermis-

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sions for official service, and despite abundant political demands voluntarily accepted, he practiced his profession of the law for twenty years until his death in 1804. Hitherto the body of his private legal papers has not been broached by editors and biographers. Some of these were themselves lawyers, but they have been content with plucking out a brief here and there or giving a summary view of his career at the bar. Special competence not only in ordinary procedures but in the history of the law was required for the thorough examination and illuminating interpretation that Professor Goebel and his associates offer in this and will conclude in a further volume. For excellent reasons routine papers and others that could not contribute to the value of the collection have been omitted. When the other *Papers of Alexander Hamilton,* now in course of publication, also by Columbia University Press, under the editorship of Harold C. Syrett and Jacob E. Cooke, are available, a grateful scholarly service will have been performed. To one who has dipped into Hamilton's legal papers, reading this book is like the experience of a saunterer through the countryside who later procures an ordnance map of the district. Every particular is here set forth and explained. The resourcefulness of the editors provokes admiration on every page. The introductions to principal cases, especially those of enduring public results, inform the lay and professional reader alike. Prominent in this volume are Hamilton's manual of practice in the Supreme Court of New York, which he wrote while he was preparing for the bar; *Rutgers* v. *Waddington* and other Trespass Act cases in which he took high ground in defending English wartime occupiers of patriot property; the sensational murder trial of Levi Weeks in the "Manhattan well mystery"; and Hamilton's vindication of freedom of the press in *People* v. *Croswell.*

Hofstra University BROADUS MITCHELL

AMERICANS ABROAD: TWO CENTURIES OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL. By *Foster Rhea Dulles.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1964. Pp. 202. $5.95.) Mr. Dulles' purpose is "an exploration of American travel abroad," primarily that of "the everyday tourists happily vacationing overseas." Thus his book is not like the many works on more serious travelers and pilgrims, and it might have been a worth-while study of a group mainly treated by novelists. Unfortunately, Dulles does not stand by his subject. He continually veers off to describe the millionaires, socialites, authors, and diplomats, of whom he says nothing new or profound. The "everyday tourists," brought out from old magazines, forgotten diaries, and assorted travel books, are recorded too casually. One man liked this, Dulles remarks, and another did not like that. To make these Americans really interesting would take much more power and effort. It also demands that we be given some criteria for judging the tourist experience. But the author attempts no significant criteria. Such a potentially vital idea as "the progressive democratization of foreign travel" is left as one of the book's scores of unexamined clichés; it just means cheap tickets for "the tourist hordes of the mid-twentieth century" (a surprisingly haughty phrase from anyone supposedly interested in those "hordes"). On the other hand, it can be said that the book's loose vagueness and generality have the possible virtue of making room for both Edith Wharton and Jane Addams, both Barnum's Tom Thumb and Consuelo Vanderbilt, both George Ticknor and Jacob Abbott's *Rollo* books for children. It is startling how varied the spectacle of Americans abroad has been. And this work is also journalistically supplied with descriptions of the packets, the early steamships, the diligences and early trains, the hotels, Pan American Clippers, and so forth. But such an uneven survey has an unjust leveling effect that is related to tourism itself. To the comic, pitiable tourist, unprepared and uninformed, "the general lack of soap" in hotels is as strong an impression as the "acres of old masters" (Will Rogers). In his failure to set

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criteria and take a real interest, Dulles is equally leveling. His book can be called an unconscious reflection of tourist standards but not an examination of them.

Lund University ROBERT F. SAYRE

PROTESTANTS AND PIONEERS: INDIVIDUALISM AND CONFORMITY ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. By *T. Scott Miyakawa.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. 306. $7.50.) The author has successfully used historical method and documentation in this study, although he frankly asserts that it is "essentially a sociological rather than an historical inquiry." His major thesis is that "frontier church adherents, far from being lone individuals in an atomistic society, were members of disciplined groups and an increasingly organized society," as the church contributed to the achievement of objectives unattainable by single individuals. His second thesis is that the chief religious denominations helped to infuse frontier society with the use of voluntary organizations, faith in the common man, and practical idealism. The inquiry is basically limited to the trans-Allegheny settlements in the Ohio River Valley from 1800 to 1836. It raises questions regarding the suggestion of sociologists like David Riesman that in the nineteenth century the chief personality type was "inner directed." Miyakawa indicates that the proportion of "outer directed" personalities may have been greater in the nineteenth century than has sometimes appeared in retrospect. He also challenges some historical inferences of Frederick J. Turner and his followers, stating that "in advancing his more sweeping generalizations, Turner was at times on shaky ground." He emphasizes the role of the major religious denominations in carrying to the frontier basic traditions and standards of older communities. The study is confined largely to the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Friends, who employed church trials and other disciplinary measures to secure conformity among frontier individualists. Except among the Presbyterians, a distrust of college training was prevalent. A more complete coverage than that attempted in this volume would have required greater attention to other groups, including the Congregationalists, Lutherans, United Brethren, and even the Amish and Mennonites. Another matter for further study would be the extent to which the Episcopal Church received new members who had left other denominations because of a resentment of the rigid discipline. Consideration is given to the difficulty of arousing a vital interest in Negro rights among many churchmen of the time, except Friends, but the author may by implication minimize the continuing difficulties of the churches and other institutions in this respect. The themes presented are not new. The work of Professor W. W. Sweet, for one, illustrated many factors discussed in the present study. Miyakawa presents no basically new interpretations, but provides a fresh summary with new illustrations and insights.

Ohio State University FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER

JOSEPH VALLENCE BEVAN: GEORGIA'S FIRST OFFICIAL HISTORIAN. By *E. Merton Coulter.* [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 7.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Pp. xvii, 157. $5.00.) By the success-oriented standards of today's society, Joseph Vallence Bevan was a failure. His career as a newspaper editor was brief and without distinction. As a lawyer he was unable to build a successful practice. During his one term in the Georgia legislature he did not secure passage of most of his bills. As Georgia's first official historian he failed to produce the expected book. He failed also to convince the authorities of the need for a permanent depository for historical documents, and consequently most of his collection was scattered and lost. He succeeded in getting permission to copy documents pertaining to Georgia and located in the British archives, but was never able to go to London to make the copies. At the age of thirty-two he died leaving an estate of less than $3,500. Of this

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$400 had to be paid to the state of Georgia because of his failure to fulfill his commission as official historian. His epitaph in a Savannah cemetery described him as enlightened, educated, warm, and affectionate. As a youth he won and kept the friendship of such men as William Godwin, the British philosopher, and George M. Troup, the Georgia statesman. He had the affection and respect of "the bench, the bar, the clergy, and the commonalty of Savannah." After more than a century of near oblivion Bevan is the subject of a biography by Georgia's leading historian, E. Merton Coulter, who concludes that Bevan merits praise and thinks that he failed to write his history because of his unwillingness to produce an inferior work. With the records available, Bevan could not have written a book that would have commanded "the respect of the intelligent public." Coulter states: "His understanding of what history should include, his methods of going about his work, and his scrupulous regard for the reliability of his sources—all would qualify him for admission to the highest ranks of the twentieth century historians." This judgment from a man of Coulter's standing more than absolves Bevan from any stigma resulting from his "failure" as Georgia's first official historian.

Texas Woman's University A. Elizabeth Taylor

INSURRECTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA: THE TURBULENT WORLD OF DENMARK VESEY. By *John Lofton*. (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 294. $6.00.) This book must be read in conjunction with a recent article by Richard C. Wade on the "Vesey Plot" (*Journal of Southern History*, XXX [May 1964]). Wade argues that there was no plot in 1822 except that which existed in the fearful imagination of the Charlestonians. "Historians," he says, have "accepted the only facts available"—those in the official reports of the trials. Lofton is one of these historians; he believes that there was a full-blown plot and that Denmark Vesey was the chief conspirator. Lofton devotes half of his book to Vesey's career prior to the revolt, but he has only a handful of facts; the rest of his story is a mixture of padding and conjecture. No one can know whether Vesey soaked up the ideas of the American and French Revolutions. Oddly enough, Lofton criticizes the court that tried Vesey and his fellow conspirators for not letting them face and cross-examine their accusers, yet he takes every statement presented throughout the trial as proof of the existence of a plot. Lofton falls into this position because he is writing hero and villain history. Vesey must be built up as a thoughtful and courageous conspirator; the Charleston elite portrayed as thoughtless and vindictive. What Lofton overlooks is that, if the plot were as widespread and all-encompassing as he describes it, there was some justification for the harshness of the sentences. Wade's picture seems closer to reality and even more damning of white leadership. Lofton's account is interesting when he deals with the roles of Governor Thomas Bennett and Federal District Judge William Johnson, who were sons of the Charleston artisan class and brothers-in-law. They alone attempted to maintain sanity amid much madness. Bennett and Johnson believed in a plot, but thought hysteria was dragging the people into excesses. To watch the forces at work on the men in the middle is always revealing. Here again Wade is better, for he has unearthed the letters of Johnson's daughter that reveal the shifts in family thinking. Lofton's 239 pages (poorly proofread) are not based on so wide a study of immediate source materials (there is much extraneous information in Lofton's book) as is Wade's 18-page article. Perhaps the most important fact in this story is that Vesey was the only free Negro involved in the plot. Why was his name attached to the plot? Perhaps because he was free when others were not. The history of South Carolina from 1822 until the Civil War is one long story of attempts to curtail the privileges of the free Negro and even to draw him back into slavery. There was an attempt to reduce the classes in South Carolina to two: black slaves and free white

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men. This is the portentous story that engulfs the man who was perhaps more sinned against than sinning.

University of South Carolina GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

VOICES ON THE RIVER: THE STORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI WATERWAYS. By *Walter Havighurst.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. vii, 310. $6.95.) This is a genial volume, pursuing its subject with a light and at times, as the title suggests, a fanciful touch. Written with the author's customary verve and well spiced with incident, episode, and anecdote, it will tell the casual reader, for whom presumably it is intended, much about life and transportation on the western rivers over a generous span of three hundred years. In twenty-four attractively titled chapters and 283 pages Mr. Havighurst tells something, although necessarily not very much, about almost every aspect and phase of river life that comes to mind. If the volume does not add greatly either to our knowledge or our understanding of the subjects dealt with, it will bring to many persons colorful impressions of an aspect of western history of which they might otherwise remain in ignorance. Written in a smooth flowing style, it will bore only the serious student, and he not too much or too long.

American University LOUIS C. HUNTER

A HISTORY OF STEAMBOATING ON THE UPPER MISSOURI RIVER. By *William E. Lass.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 215. $5.50.) On the "upper" Missouri River west of Sioux City, the first successful steamers were those run by fur traders in the 1830's to Fort Union in eastern Montana. When Indian warfare broke out, boats in 1859 started going further west to deliver military supplies at Fort Benton. Soon the port became more important as the transshipment point for the Montana mines, and this business remained brisk until the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad made the wagon haul from Utah more attractive to merchants than the slow, infrequent, seasonal river service. The eastern terminal was originally St. Louis, but the construction of new railroad lines shifted it upriver in the late 1860's to Sioux City and again in the middle 1870's to Yankton or Bismarck. By this time the vessels had become standardized as stern-wheelers with an especially light draft. They were operated by several companies which competed sharply for the carrying of furs, army supplies, Indian annuity goods, merchandise for the Black Hills gold rush, troops, and civilian passengers. Gradually long haul traffic on the river declined as additional railroad lines provided better service. By 1897 all that remained was local grain hauling around Bismarck, often from elevators in which the shipowner had a financial interest, but, thanks to the substitution of economical gasoline engines for steam, the boats continued operating until 1936. This monograph is based mostly on thorough research in newspapers, federal records, and such private papers of shipowners as still survive. It is a careful analysis of economic developments, paying little attention to picturesque episodes. It is detailed, well organized, and clearly written, and its thoughtful interpretations are judicious. The maps and statistical tables are helpful; the pictures are well selected. This study vastly expands the information on the upper Missouri in Louis C. Hunter's *Steamboats on Western Waters* (1949) and for all but the specialist replaces H. M. Chittenden's *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* (1903).

University of Idaho WILLIAM S. GREEVER

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MISSISSIPPI, 1837–65. By *James J. Pillar, O.M.I.* (New Orleans: Hauser Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 380. $8.00.) Father Pillar has written an institutional history of the Catholic Church in Mississippi from the creation of the diocese of Natchez in 1837 through the Civil War. It was almost four years after the

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establishment of the diocese that John Joseph Chanche arrived in Natchez to become its first bishop. Throughout his tenure he faced many difficulties arising principally from a dearth of funds and an inability to secure priests. "It seems to me that everybody is afraid of the South," he lamented in 1846. More than half of the book is devoted to the period of the Civil War. The author discusses the contributions of the priests who served as Confederate chaplains and the nuns who acted as volunteer nurses. He devotes considerable space to Bishop William Henry Elder's recurring difficulties with Union commanders concerning his refusal to sign a loyalty oath and to offer prayers for the President and civil authorities of the United States. Pillar clearly displays more sympathy for Elder, who supported the establishment of the Confederacy, than for Cincinnati's Archbishop John Purcell, who endorsed the Emancipation Proclamation. This study is based upon an extensive use of archival material in the United States and Europe. Despite the author's statement in the preface, he has not always been successful in relating the secular events in Mississippi to the role of the Church. The Know-Nothing movement in the state, for example, receives only scant attention. Pillar concerns himself little with such matters as the political leanings or the socioeconomic status of Mississippi's Catholics. He undoubtedly plans to extend his study through the Reconstruction period, for his book ends on this uncertain note: "Having weathered one storm, would the Catholic Church in Mississippi be able to ride out another?"

University of Houston EDWIN A. MILES

RECORDS OF THE MORAVIANS IN NORTH CAROLINA. Volume IX, 1838–1847. Edited by *Minnie J. Smith*. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1964. Pp. xiii, 4372–5056. $3.00.) From 1922 through 1954, the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History published eight volumes of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* under the editorship of Dr. Adelaide L. Fries and Dr. Douglas L. Rights. A generous grant from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, Incorporated, has now enabled the Moravian Archives and Department of Archives and History to add two more handsomely printed volumes to this series. Volume IX was assigned to Dr. Minnie J. Smith who completed most of the work prior to her death in 1962. Grace L. Siewers and the Reverend William A. Cranford finished preparing copy and saw the volume through the press. Sources used were diaries and memorabilia of the various Moravian congregations, minutes of church boards, and personal letters that provide detailed accounts of this religious group and compassionate yet critical glimpses for those outside the order. On March 28, 1838, concern is recorded for four outside families "in poverty apparently their own fault" who have never entered the sacred precincts of God "although our church bell can be heard very well by them each Sunday." When the Moravians urged these people to seek salvation, one woman succinctly replied "that she had too many children and too little time. . . ." One of the brethren raised the question as to whether it would be possible to stop the trading of several Jews while they were staying at a local tavern. The collegium held the view, on February 8, 1841, "that this is only possible, if nobody buys anything from them any longer." These examples, selected at random, do not do justice to items useful to the historian of this period. Fortunately, the index is copious and is an important contribution of the volume. As Smith notes, the mass of records was so great that the selection became necessarily subjective. In general, she has emphasized genealogical facts, and economic factors of importance in the community. The slavery question, the shift from the German language to the English, relations with churches of other denominations, and individual clashes with authority of the Church are also high lights of Volume IX.

West Virginia University WILLIAM T. DOHERTY, JR.

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MESSAGES AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF SAMUEL BIGGER, GOVERNOR OF INDIANA, 1840–1843. Edited by *Gayle Thornbrough*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XLIV.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1964. Pp. vii, 669. $7.50.) The seventh volume in the Indiana series of *Governors' Messages and Papers* contains documents that are primarily taken from Senate and House *Journals* and from the *Documentary Papers*. Fifty-three messages and reports, thirty resolutions, proclamations, and other public documents, and forty-three letters, most of them written by members of the General Assembly to their constituents and published in local newspapers, provide an abundance of information on virtually every aspect of state government during the period of the last Whig administration: state revenue, taxation, bank, debt, fund commissioners, internal improvements, schools, elections, relief and stay laws, and prisons, and on the Whig and Democratic parties. The lucid introduction summarizes major documents in a context of state history. Over six hundred footnotes supply useful cross references, identifications, and archival information. The analytical index contains about five hundred main entries. Editorial work is exemplary. The value of this work and other volumes in the series in making the sources of Indiana history accessible need not be stressed, but the extent to which they provide materials for the study of nationwide problems should be pointed out. The editor and the bureau are to be congratulated.

Ohio University HARRY R. STEVENS

POVERTY AND PROGRESS: SOCIAL MOBILITY IN A NINETEENTH CENTURY CITY. By *Stephan Thernstrom*. [Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 286. $5.95.) This study of upward economic mobility among the laborers of industrial Newburyport, 1850–1880, joins the recent investigations of contemporary leveling up among Wisconsin farmers and the middle-class origins of business leaders. Few of the unskilled workingmen of Newburyport rose above a semiskilled job, a petty business, or a small savings account and a mortgaged house or subsistence farm; none got rich. For thousands of the unsuccessful, mobility meant only leaving town altogether. Irish peasant immigrants, who were believed less adaptable than Yankee hill farmers to factory work, had the least opportunity. Whatever status any workingman achieved was seldom transferable to his sons. In fact, since it took the unremitting labor and frugality of a whole family to accumulate even the smallest property, the father's success typically sacrificed his children's schooling and with it the best chance for their own advancement. Yet the minimal security and dignity of homeownership satisfied the low expectations of poor men from rural Ireland and New England alike. Mr. Thernstrom admirably succeeds in bringing the American dream of economic success down to the objective ground of census schedules, local directories, and tax assessors' lists. He ends, however, by doubting "whether the presence of opportunity of this kind is a sufficient test of the good society." One may also doubt the sufficiency of a study devoted to measuring such opportunity. Individual mobility within a fairly stable social order, like that of a seventeenth-century English village or New England town, has a far different quality from mobility in a place like mid-nineteenth-century Newburyport, which, as Thernstrom observes, had lost even the memory of organic community. Such qualitative considerations, only peripheral in this book, are fundamental. Since "classes" defined according to unskilled, semiskilled, skilled, and nonmanual occupations or arbitrary amounts of property represent statistical abstractions rather than functioning social institutions, even the most precise calculation of "social" mobility among them may miss the point. The author suggests that the loose agglomeration of fraternal lodges, church sodalities, and other voluntary associations of the time formed an equivalent for the van-

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ished family, class, and community structure of the eighteenth-century town. But did the nineteenth-century city indeed have an "economic, social, and political structure" deserving the name? Newburyport, which has attracted novelists and sociologists as well as historians, may yet provide an answer. Thernstrom's book, excellent within its narrow confines, establishes his credentials for proceeding to a comprehensive social history of the place.

Washington University ROWLAND BERTHOFF

STATE GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A HISTORY OF ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES IN CALIFORNIA, 1849–1933. By *Gerald D. Nash.* (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California. 1964. Pp. xii, 379. $7.50.) This is a study of the interrelationship between state government and economic forces in California during three eras classified as the era of exploitation (1850–1870), the agricultural era (1870–1900), and the industrial era (1900–1933). In the first era administrative functions were concerned with allocating newly discovered resources; in the second the government experimented with administrative techniques to meet problems of an increasing specialization in agriculture; and in the third a professional bureaucracy evolved to wrestle with problems resulting from the shift to an industrial economy. Professor Nash has made a solid contribution to California administrative and economic history, an area largely neglected in the past. Moreover, he superbly fits his study into the general picture of American institutional development. Throughout the book the author lucidly demonstrates the changing functions of California government in promoting the state's economic growth. He discusses policies relating to agriculture, mining, industry, land, transportation, and conservation. The reader learns much about government research, state operation of San Francisco Harbor, control of banks, insurance companies, and public utilities, administration of state-owned business enterprises, and development of California fisheries. Few have used California archival sources and documents to the extent Nash has; for example, he culled impeccable evidence from the petitions to the California legislature files to assist him in ascertaining the role of pressure groups. His masterly and thorough research, in my opinion, ranks the study among the most meaningful books in the field of California history. To those who read his extensive footnotes and "A Note on the Sources," it should open enticing research vistas. A few unfortunate errors involving names of governors and other prominent political leaders were noted in the first part; the most glaring of these was Senator Broderick's slayer. The book is well organized, forcibly written, and has an adequate index.

San Jose State College BENJAMIN F. GILBERT

THREE YEARS IN CALIFORNIA: WILLIAM PERKINS' JOURNAL OF LIFE AT SONORA, 1849–1852. With an introduction and annotations by *Dale L. Morgan* and *James R. Scobie.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. 424. $8.50.) Among gold miners it is an axiom that the most valuable deposits are usually discovered first. In historical research quite the opposite is apt to be true, and the publication of a major journal that was unknown for a hundred years is a striking demonstration of how long a rich nugget can escape the historical prospector. Very few of the hundreds of known contemporary descriptions of the gold rush can stand comparison with this remarkably perceptive, well-informed, and judicious account of life in the mining center of Sonora, California, from 1849 to 1852. Written into a finished draft approximately in 1862, from diaries and "copious notes" taken at the time of the events described, this admirable narrative remained in manuscript form in Argentina until 1960, when the Argentine descendants of William Perkins permitted two American scholars to begin editing the document for publication. Perkins was of

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Canadian birth and manifestly well educated, but the editors have not been able to unearth any information about his life prior to his arrival in California. His narrative of the years 1849–1852 gives the best contemporary discussion I have seen of the life and character of the Spanish-speaking elements in the gold rush population; of the pros and cons of the American opposition to foreigners; of the necessity for vigilantism in a land where every man's life was in danger; of the callousness toward bloodshed; and of the deterioration of individuals through dissipation. It is difficult to think of any other book that supplies so many meaningful insights into the attitudes and habits of this turbulent society. Dale Morgan and James Scobie have equipped the volume with meticulously careful footnotes and a good index, and they have identified and reproduced a miniature portrait of Perkins. Their introduction is painstaking and authoritative, but it is cluttered with so many long quotations from contemporary sources that the reader becomes impatient to get on with the book's main purpose.

California Institute of Technology RODMAN WILSON PAUL

THE LARKIN PAPERS: PERSONAL, BUSINESS, AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN, MERCHANT AND UNITED STATES CONSUL IN CALIFORNIA. Volume X, 1854–1858. Edited by *George P. Hammond*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press for the Bancroft Library. 1964. Pp. xxxv, 353. $10.00.) It has taken more than a decade to conclude this notable series of volumes. The documents concern the California trader and diplomat Thomas Oliver Larkin. His letters spanned the long period from California's hide and tallow era through its American conquest, gold rush, and emergence as a state. As American consul at the old Pacific capital of Monterey, he was associated with the leading Mexican officials and American traders during a crucial transitional period in the history of the province. Later he associated closely with John C. Frémont, Commodore John D. Sloat, and other American military figures. Shrewd, self-reliant, and dependable, Larkin mirrored, in his four thousand pieces of correspondence (1822–1858), a wide spectrum of social and political changes. He died of typhoid in 1858 and was publicly unappreciated until the publication of this series and of John Hawgood's selection of letters, entitled *First and Last Consul* (1962). Reviewers have criticized such shortcomings of this series as lack of annotation and the failure to correct grammatical inconsistencies or to translate Larkin's correspondence, as well as an aggravating lack of continuity in the arrangement of his letters. These strictures, however, cannot detract from the essential value of *The Larkin Papers* as a major primary source for the study of the American West. One must also rate highly George Hammond's incisive introductions to each of the ten volumes. In the last of these, he points out why (for financial and other reasons) it was virtually impossible to remedy certain publication deficiencies. What is sorely needed now is a separate index volume. This would cap a successful publishing enterprise for which the editor, the Bancroft Library, and the University of California deserve congratulations.

Occidental College ANDREW ROLLE

HENRY WATKINS ALLEN OF LOUISIANA. By *Vincent H. Cassidy* and *Amos E. Simpson*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 201. $5.00.) Henry Watkins Allen had a varied career in a short life of less than forty-six years. Born near Farmville in Prince Edward County, Virginia, he grew up in Missouri, migrated to Mississippi, where he became a planter and married a planter's daughter for a wedded life of only six years before her death and to remain ever after a widower. As a Whig he entered politics mildly, fought in the Mexican War, and moved to Louisiana where he became one of the state's largest sugar planters. He was an inveterate traveler all his life, spending six months in Europe in 1859, and seizing every

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opportunity to make trips in America. After the breakup of the Whig party he became a Know-Nothing and soon joined the Democratic party in time to support secession. When the war came he led Louisiana troops in the Battle of Shiloh, where he was shot through the mouth, and later at the Battle of Baton Rouge, where he was shot almost to pieces. Thus ended his military career, a valiant fighter without fear or reproach. In 1864 he became governor of Louisiana, and in this position he made his greatest contribution to his state and to history. He treated the people like one great family, civilians and soldiers alike, taking care of their needs through instituting a system of state socialism, setting up stores, factories, and providing funds by exporting cotton through Mexico. He was probably the boldest and most successful administrator in the Confederacy. After Lee's surrender he reluctantly gave up the fight and went into exile in Mexico, where in Mexico City he set up the *Mexican Times,* and died there in 1866. This book is a highly personalized and appealing account of Allen, well written and leaving the reader with the feeling that he has actually known the man. He is placed in the proper background of his times. To begin with, the authors had the basic narrative of Sarah A. Dorsey's *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen* as well as a Ph.D. dissertation and an M.A. thesis, but they combed well all other known manuscript and printed sources, and have added a worth-while volume to American history.

University of Georgia E. MERTON COULTER

NEGRO SLAVERY IN LOUISIANA. By *Joe Gray Taylor.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana Historical Association; distrib. by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. 1963. Pp. xi, 260. $6.00.) Certainly a more voluminous, more thoroughly researched book about the century and a half of Louisiana slavery could be written, yet brevity becomes a virtue when, as in the present instance, the author judiciously treats within small compass most important aspects of his subject. Since it is based on a narrow range of sources and is heedless of special studies published since 1950, this work's value lies in its compact survey of slavery in a state for which no adequate study had hitherto been made. The institution is discussed under eight categories, whose emphasis and balance somewhat defy convention. Thus the description of the material aspects of slave life—the core of most state studies—is here balanced with entire chapters on slave religion and manumissions. Taylor's picture of slavery resembles more closely that of Kenneth Stampp than of Ulrich B. Phillips. Taylor makes no racist assumptions; nor does he minimize the abundant evidence of asperity within the slave system. Curiously, however, he provides scant support for the popular notion that slavery was notably more harsh in Louisiana than elsewhere. Thus "to be sold down the river" should have offered, so far as we can tell, fewer prospective horrors than tradition claims. Taylor concurs with Stampp and others who have held that slavery was fundamentally an exploitative economic institution. All else, he concludes, was rationalization.

Texas Technological College MERTON L. DILLON

THOMAS COUNTY DURING THE CIVIL WAR. By *William Warren Rogers.* [Florida State University Studies, Number 41.] (Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1964. Pp. xv, 112. $4.50.) This monograph wins recognition for another university press in the South. It tells of a county in southwest Georgia during the great sectional conflict. An earlier book by the same author gives the history of the county before the Civil War; a third study is promised for the years after that event. The thoroughness and acumen of Mr. Rogers' researches are unprecedented for studies concerned with a small area of the South. He does not exploit the legend that all Confederate soldiers were brave and loyal. He merely recounts his findings about a not unusual com-

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munity in a beleaguered land. The slaves of Thomas County were obedient; its men fought well on distant battlefields without winning fame. The county was useful if not heroic in the epic struggle; it was a vital part of the state that was the granary of the Confederacy.

Longwood College FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

JOHNNY COBB: CONFEDERATE ARISTOCRAT. By *Horace Montgomery*. [University of Georgia Monographs, Number 11.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 104. $3.00.) The central character in Professor Montgomery's book is John A. Cobb of Athens, Georgia, who served a year and a half in the Confederate Army and then went home to manage his father's plantations. Other principals are Lucy Barrow, whom John Cobb married in 1863; Howell Cobb, John's father, a leading Georgia politician who became a major general in the Confederate Army; and John's mother, Mary Ann (Lamar) Cobb. The volume is based largely on the wartime letters of John and Lucy, which are part of a large collection of Cobb manuscripts preserved at the University of Georgia. These letters, and the book that Montgomery has derived from them, are important as human documents recording the experiences and reactions of an attractive young couple caught up in the crisis of war. But their principal significance is the information they present on the class that dominated the ante bellum South and led it into secession and war. The Cobbs, the Lamars, and the Barrows were the elite of their time and section—wealthy, refined, well mannered, and proud. They were honorable folk, but they had notable shortcomings among which were provincialism and excessive individualism as revealed in John Cobb's disparaging comments on Virginians and on General D. H. Hill. Many of these aristocrats, including John Cobb, were quick tempered, selfish, and inclined to snobbery. Lucy, who was only eighteen when she married twenty-four-year-old John in 1863, was smarter than her husband, and in general more attractive. She was far from the clinging vine type idealized in romantic southern literature. Howell Cobb, generous and patriotic though he was in a relative sense, got himself and his kin transferred to safer and easier positions after the Yankees killed his brother and brother-in-law in 1862. He and his family lived well amidst the hunger and hardship experienced by the lowly folk. Montgomery's perceptive and well-written book helps to explain the South's failure to achieve the independence that it so confidently declared in the days when cotton was thought to be king.

Emory University BELL I. WILEY

THE WILD LIFE OF THE ARMY: CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF JAMES A. GARFIELD. Edited with an introduction by *Frederick D. Williams*. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1964. Pp. xx, 325. $8.50.) The American Civil War was a spawning ground for Presidents. Five Union officers—four of them generals—reached the White House in the generation after Appomattox. The third one among them was James A. Garfield, whose Civil War letters have been ably edited in this volume by Frederick D. Williams. A large, physically attractive, and convivial man, Garfield was, as these letters show, self-confident, and had a keen mind and military ability, but was also opportunistic, prudishly intolerant, and ruthless. His first command, that of a brigade in the Sandy Valley, Shiloh, and Corinth campaigns, started him along the road to political as well as military advancement. Garfield's correspondence shows him to have been favorable to strong offensive movements, bitterly anti-McClellan, and mildly hostile to Lincoln. He curried favor with such Radicals as Chase by serving on the court that convicted Fitz John Porter, although he was prejudiced against that general. Elected a Republican congressman in 1862, Garfield nonetheless preferred assignment in January 1863 as chief of staff of the Army of the

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Cumberland. The one field order of Rosecrans that Garfield did not write—the fatal one to General Thomas Wood—helped lead to the disastrous Federal defeat at Chickamauga, in which battle Garfield played a heroic role. Unfortunately, Garfield never wrote a detailed account of his services in this important engagement. But he did play a somewhat sordid role in the events leading up to Rosecrans' removal from command. In December 1863 he took his seat in the Twenty-eighth Congress. The editor is to be commended for his helpful footnote annotations and for his judicious remarks introducing each section of letters. However, he has used too heavy a hand in altering the original text of the letters in the name of modern punctuation and usage. Otherwise, this is a valuable collection of the Civil War correspondence of the twentieth President.

Pennsylvania State University WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS, THE INDOMITABLE WARRIOR: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Wilbur Thomas.* [Exposition-Lochinvar Book.] (New York: Exposition Press. 1964. Pp. 649. $10.00.) The author says he has written this long biography to give General Thomas his proper place in history. He would, he says, "right the wrong of slander and neglect" brought about by the false impressions left by Grant and Sherman. The author's way of elevating Thomas is, among others, to keep the reader constantly reminded of the alleged conspiracy carried on by the latter two generals. "Without exception," the author writes, "authorities, students, and just plain Civil War buffs . . . are agreed that he [Thomas] was the ablest soldier produced by the North." Scholarly studies of Civil War military history provide a basis for a vigorous dissent from the above point of view. Not that Thomas was a poor soldier; he was not. Competent and unbiased scholars have shown that he was a methodical, steady, dependable corps commander who was not likely to make many serious mistakes, but he was not a dashing, brilliant, and imaginative army commander. A more intensive study by the author of Confederate operations involving Thomas would have given better balance to the book. It is a fact that at the three crucial periods of Thomas' career the Confederate Army virtually forfeited victory to the Federals. At Chickamauga, Bragg decided to fight it out with Thomas on Snodgrass Hill instead of sweeping into Chattanooga on the tail of a badly demoralized enemy, leaving Thomas impotent and isolated. At Peachtree Creek confusion in Confederate ranks caused the resistance to Thomas' crossing to be confined to one corps (Stewart's) instead of two corps as planned. At Nashville, Thomas had to contend only with the remnants of Hood's Army of Tennessee. Much of its strength had been bled away at the disastrous battle at Franklin. The fact that Thomas had a considerable amount of good luck, of course, does not detract from his career, but a candid facing of the above facts would have made possible a more objective book. With the exception of the *Official Records* the author cites mostly secondary sources, but I am puzzled by the fact that few recent military biographies are mentioned. He writes about Longstreet, but there is no evidence he has seen the recent biography of this officer by Sanger and Hay; about Joseph E. Johnston without having seen the study of him by Govan and Livingood; about Hood without reference to my biography of him. And the list could be much longer. Too much reliance has been placed on the biased memoirs of leading participants, North and South. And these biased accounts are carried on into *Battles and Leaders* frequently cited.

Tulane University JOHN P. DYER

UPTON AND THE ARMY. By *Stephen E. Ambrose.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 190. $5.00.) When Colonel Emory Upton shot himself in 1881, he thought he was a failure. A West Point graduate who demonstrated re-

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markable ability during the Civil War, a perceptive and imaginative military theorist, Upton was left to sit alone and frustrated, his ideas generally ignored, in the postwar demobilization and de-emphasis of the army. Despite his success as a tactician and his brilliant war record, he found professional advancement blocked by apathy and the rigidity of the military system. Ambitious, humorless, stiffly moral, unswerving in his devotion to cause and principle, he suffered greatly from this rejection and at the age of forty-one took his own life. Today, the success of his ideas and their influence on the United States Army are abundantly evident. Upton visualized a strong, well-organized, self-sufficient army, backed by adequate, responsive reserves, and led by a powerful and efficient staff. Contemptuous of civilian soldiers, he sought to free the army from its dependence on the militia system and, indeed, from all civilian control. In the latter concept lay his weakness, for in his attempt to create an army independent of civil authority, Upton failed to comprehend or appreciate American social and political institutions. He regarded the nation purely from a military viewpoint and never understood the problems of democratic government. Four years after Upton's death, Peter S. Michie, a friend and colleague, produced an excellent *Life and Letters* of the young military theorist. Now, Stephen E. Ambrose's book attempts to fill the need for a current appraisal of the man and his influence. Basing his study on extensive manuscript sources, Michie's earlier work, and more recent secondary materials, Ambrose has prepared a balanced, well-written account of Upton's career and contributions. His discussion of Upton's ideas is perceptive and analytical and indicates their primary strengths and weaknesses. Yet there is need for a fuller and more imaginative examination of these theories, a deeper probing of their roots, a broader analysis of Upton's relationships with others who helped professionalize the American military establishment. Such an undertaking, along the lines laid out by recent scholars such as Huntington and Weigley, would provide a better understanding of the development of American military thought. Ambrose's contribution is useful and welcome, but there is still room for a comprehensive study of Upton and his role.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces STANLEY L. FALK

WAR EAGLE: A LIFE OF GENERAL EUGENE A. CARR. By *James T. King.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. 323. $6.00.) This biography ably demonstrates that the exploits of Custer, Crook, and Miles do not contain all of the far western military history. For more than four decades, Eugene A. Carr fought the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Apache. He campaigned on the Great Plains during the 1850's, cornered Tall Bull's Cheyenne Dog Soldiers at Summit Springs in 1869, commanded troops against the Sioux in 1876, chased Apaches in New Mexico and Arizona in the 1880's, and participated in the final reduction of the Sioux at Wounded Knee in 1890–1891. Generally, the author writes with accuracy and clarity, marshaling his sources with commendable objectivity. The principal sources for Carr's career were carefully examined, but documents other than official military reports might have prevented inaccurate statements. For example, Fort Washita was not in the Cherokee nation; it is doubtful if Custer killed over 100 warriors at the Battle of the Washita; and, Carr at best encountered a camp of less than 250 warriors at Summit Springs, not 450, because it contained only one-half of the Southern Cheyennes absent from their agency in 1869.

University of Oklahoma DONALD J. BERTHRONG

MOGULS AND IRON MEN: THE STORY OF THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD. By *James McCague.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. viii, 392. $7.95.) Even though the salient facts about the nation's first "transcontinental"

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have long been familiar, this is a fresh account with new material and insights. It is candid and well balanced, told by a man who clearly knows railroading, and superbly written. True, McCague is not a professional historian; one might wonder about his lack of reference to such standard works as those of Trottman, White, Daggett, and Grodinsky. But he has consulted a wealth of source material, which he uses with mature caution. Thus, in the tradition of Edward Hungerford, Ralph Harlow, and G. R. Stevens, he tells an intensely human story that reveals how daring, muscle, and expediency accomplished a task beset throughout by influential doubters and unforeseen hazards. Specifically, McCague emphasizes, for example, how much the project owed to Judah; he appraises carefully the distinctive roles of Durant, Dillon, Dodge, Ames, and the "Big Four," among others. He explains lucidly why Denver and Salt Lake were by-passed, the contrast between the local traffic potentials of the UP and CP, the crucial importance of labor scarcity and high material prices in the early stages, and the continuing impact of physiography and the Indian menace. Of equal importance, he meticulously places the whole project in context, summarizing the stultifying effect of the slavery issue during the 1850's, tracing the fumbling attempts of Washington to control the enterprise, and sketching the complementary (and sometimes competitive) roles of wagons and steamships. McCague's candor is refreshing. Avoiding the spectacular, he never glosses over the sundry lapses of the principal participants, nor the sheer brutality of frontier life. His plea for caution in accepting the conventional wholesale condemnation of the Crédit Mobilier is worth pondering. But probably that enigma, and the equally puzzling role of Durant, will never be clarified until the Union Pacific Railroad opens for research its hugh collection of records now stored in its Omaha general offices. Despite omissions in the bibliography and index, this is a first-rate book. The maps are outstanding, the photographs well chosen, and the text deftly organized and vividly phrased.

University of Western Ontario RICHARD C. OVERTON

THE HIGHER LEARNING IN COLORADO: AN HISTORICAL STUDY, 1860–1940. By *Michael McGiffert.* [University of Denver Department of History Series. The West in American History, Number 3.] (Denver: Sage Books. 1964. Pp. xiii, 307. $6.50.) Students of the history of American education, and of intellectual and cultural events as well, will have good cause to welcome this well-documented and illuminating study. Professor McGiffert writes well, is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and began by asking most of the appropriate questions of his material. The history of higher learning in Colorado illustrates the problems of public higher education in economically unstable and sparsely populated western states. Most of these states are artificial unions of widely separated and fiercely parochial blocks of population, and it has been virtually impossible to work out a truly balanced and rational system of state colleges in any of them. Another problem in Colorado, and indeed in the entire West, is the absence of a sprinkling of well-financed independent institutions of real eminence that could serve as models and defenders of the vulnerable public colleges living from hand to mouth upon inadequate biennial appropriations from their state legislatures. When just recently the University of Colorado was forced to bow to an irresponsible attack, no private college leaders in the region felt secure enough to rise to its defense, and public institutions were concerned chiefly with keeping themselves out of the line of fire. It is easy to blame such assaults on unprincipled outsiders, but at least some of the responsibility must lie in the failure of the institutions themselves to develop a firm educational ideal and to establish it in the public mind. They have more often than not followed the public instead of leading it, and they have rationalized their emphasis upon "services" and opening opportunities for the ambitious as somehow also satisfy-

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ing Colorado's need for high-minded citizens and responsible leaders. Whether or not this squares with the facts is not really dealt with in this otherwise excellent volume.
Colorado College LOUIS G. GEIGER

THE FIRST COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN: THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE. By *James Hennesey, S. J.* (New York: Herder and Herder. 1963. Pp. 341. $6.50.) There could be no better way to dispel the black-and-white contrasts and lack of historical perspective of so much of the theological journalism devoted to Vatican II than by reading this sane and judicious chronicle of the adventures and misadventures of the American bishops in Pious IX's Rome. Following in the tradition of Abbot Butler rather than that of Lord Acton, Father Hennesey has gathered his materials in an impressive number of ecclesiastical archives in this country and abroad and has achieved the first detailed picture of the amazingly varied progress of the bishops from their tentative start—a number may have feared that a definition of papal infallibility would complicate the work of the Catholic Church in the United States—to that dramatic moment when, reduced in number by illness and abstentions, they voted placet with one famous exception. It would have helped to have more of a "class portrait" of these men before they left for Rome, an over-all view of their backgrounds, their seminaries, their ecclesiastical careers, and their presumed theological positions; we miss, too, a connection, however tenuous, between the bishops and the society in which they lived. If few would disagree with the author's conclusion that their presence in Rome was chiefly notable as a historical first and that their participation was not of overriding importance, still there may have been more sheer distinction and influence than he is prepared to admit in figures like Kenrick, Spalding, and Amat, not to overlook the absolutely original mixture of Gallicanism and comic relief in Vérot. What we have in this book is much more than a benchmark, a basis for comparing the performances of American bishops at the two Vatican Councils; it is in essence a moving account, told often in the bishops' informal and unpretentious speech, of their growing awareness of the problems faced by the whole Church and of their realization of its pastoral mission in striking anticipation of the themes that have dominated Vatican II.
University of California, Berkeley WILLIAM B. SLOTTMAN

THE TAFT RANCH: A TEXAS PRINCIPALITY. By *A. Ray Stephens.* With introduction by *Joe B. Frantz.* [The M. K. Brown Range Life Series, Number 5.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 279. $6.00.) This narrative chronologically covers the story of the Taft Ranch of southeastern Texas from its first hesitant beginnings as "Coleman, Mathis and Fulton" in 1871 to the final dissolution of the Taft enterprise in 1930. The account is fully documented, highly detailed, and clearly written. All subsidiary enterprises are covered from meat packing and refrigeration through land speculation and hospital subsidizing. The changes in corporation structure are given in detail. In short, the book is one more typical history of a land and cattle company. It pays only passing attention to national history, but it does provide scholars with some otherwise hard to get material. The author also shows, perhaps unintentionally, that few native Texans played any significant role in the development of the ranch or in any of its other undertakings. Furthermore, the most successful ranch managers entered on their task with virtually no experience in the cattle business. A lack of preconceived notions apparently helped them, while experience in law apparently provided the best preparation for going into the cattle business. The author attempts to indicate the unique contributions of the ranch in the development of the region. Stephens admits, nevertheless, that the ranch led successfully only in those enterprises that were commonly successful anyhow. The "great man" theory of history has

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been discarded for some time now, and perhaps it is time to start discarding the "great ranch" theory as well, and for the same reasons.

Iowa State University JOHN T. SCHLEBECKER

PIONEERING IN ARIZONA: THE REMINISCENCES OF EMERSON OLIVER STRATTON AND EDITH STRATTON KITT. Edited by *John Alexander Carroll.* [Pioneer Fund Publication.] (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society. 1964. Pp. vii, 178. $7.50.) This attractively bound volume embraces the recollections of two generations of the Stratton family and spans the period from 1874 to 1947. Emerson Oliver Stratton's reminiscences are a refreshing departure from those of many pioneers because he emerges neither as an active participant in every major event on the Arizona frontier nor as the confidant of the mighty. During his forty years' residence in Arizona, Stratton tried many things: stage station attendant, prospector, bookkeeper, rancher, farmer, county officeholder, and chairman of the territorial Live Stock Sanitary Board, among others. Although he does not ignore the turbulent frontier of which he was a part, Stratton does not permit the spectacular to overshadow the more prosaic activities of an enterprising pioneer who, with others like him, laid the foundations for Arizona statehood. He also contributes interesting character sketches of some Arizonans, both prominent and obscure, who were among his acquaintances. The narrative of his daughter, Edith Stratton Kitt, has two themes: her memory of childhood incidents that her father recalled as an adult and her experiences as secretary of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society through twenty-two trying years. The illustrations are from the Stratton family album.

New Mexico State University IRA G. CLARK

NEGRO THOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1880–1915: RACIAL IDEOLOGIES IN THE AGE OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. By *August Meier.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1963. Pp. x, 336. $7.50.) This noteworthy volume should influence studies that seek a more balanced view than do some of American politics and social forces as they affected Negroes. Out of wide and intimate studies in manuscript and printed collections, the author traces the pattern of Negro attitudes and programs in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras. Professor Meier also attempts to derive broad principles from his findings. Thus, he believes that "generally in periods of discouragement Negroes have adopted doctrines of self-help, racial solidarity, and economic development as better techniques for racial advancement than politics, agitation, and the demand for immediate integration." This was true following the American Revolution, in the 1850's, and in the post-Reconstruction era. From the political compromise of 1877 to Booker T. Washington's famous compromise speech in Atlanta, in 1895, Negroes suffered growing disillusionment with political action. Frederick Douglass continued as the outstanding Negro leader of this period, and he held on to his faith in political action, but Meier presents a striking body of Negro spokesmen who differed from him in circumstances, interests, and perspectives. Through conventions, journals, and political and fraternal associations they expressed what W. E. B. Du Bois later called "two-ness": a sense of race and also a sense of being Americans. Booker T. Washington's moderate leadership, his emphasis upon industrial education and racial peace, received complex responses from southern and northern Negroes. Such worthies as Isaiah Montgomery, the Reverend Alexander Crummell, John Wesley Cromwell, Bishop Henry M. Turner, Ida Wells, J. C. Price, among many others, constituted a spectrum of social interests. They were dominated by a mutual sense of oppression, but they also maintained sharp differences in outlook. Du Bois himself, though known for his radical anti-Bookerite sentiments, was close to them at one time and believed in a species of accommodation to repressive situations. Meier

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observes that there is something pragmatic about the ideologies of American Negroes. Migration and colonization, business ventures, mutual benefit and labor organizations were all calculated to create opportunities for Negroes as individuals or as groups. The intention justified their efforts and reflected over-all national tendencies of a given time. Thus, the 1890's were a time discouraging to Negro hopes. Negroes, accordingly, dug into economic efforts and not only weathered the storm but strengthened their communities in the process. The 1900's, though a reform era, were high-lighted by anti-Negro riots and the Brownsville tragedy, but they also saw the rise of a new, radical spirit stirred by intellectuals who created the NAACP. Meier's last chapter, "The Social and Intellectual Origins of the New Negro," foreshadows developments in the 1920's and after. An excellent implementation of notes and a "Bibliographical Note" make profitable and instructive study.

Antioch College LOUIS FILLER

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL: THE FIRST EIGHTY YEARS. By *Will C. Conrad et al.* With a foreword by *Arthur Ochs Sulzberger.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 232. $5.00.) Newspaper publishers who have to answer critics for the journalistic junk some of them peddle to the public usually defend themselves by saying such a policy is necessary to keep a paper solvent. The history of the Milwaukee *Journal* proves that a newspaper can be good, even great, and prosperous. Many rivals tried to run away with Milwaukee circulation by appealing to the emotions. The *Journal*'s only concession to sensationalism was its "Green Sheet," which is Mother Hubbard by most such standards. None of the rivals remain today. The *Journal* is so committed to news versus *kitsch* that it will not even run syndicated columns, since it holds itself responsible for everything that appears in the paper, and it does not know what the columnists are going to say. Like so many good and noble persons and institutions, the *Journal* can be dull. But it is respected by friend and foe alike, and that is important. It is as honest and as workaday as the Cheltenham type that identifies its pages. To some readers the *Journal* is dangerously liberal. To others it is stuffily conservative. Actually, it stands for integrity, often confused with liberalism and conservatism, depending upon where one stands. The paper has made mistakes, but they were honest ones. It endorsed the fatuous Julius "The Just" Heil for governor. It was not very kind to Victor Berger, the courageous Socialist (Milwaukee had a Socialist administration for twenty-two years). It was rough on Bob La Follette, Sr. Today, both have a more favorable image. If the *Journal* had supported Bob La Follette, Jr., when he was opposed by Joe McCarthy, Wisconsin might not have been identified with the era of McCarthyism. Senator La Follette lost by only five thousand votes. This is an inspiring history; much is packed into the few pages. It is, of course, readable, since the authors are veterans of a respected editorial staff. But this is also a flaw. Few great histories of newspapers have been written in this country simply because they are invariably the work of authors closely associated with the subject. Some day publishers will realize that the most readable, lasting, and useful histories of our press will be written by scholars less concerned with pleasing associates than with telling what happened, as Stanley Morison did with the *Times* of London.

University of Washington HENRY LADD SMITH

THE COMMISSION AND THE COMMON LAW: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUDICATION. By *H. Arnold Bennett.* [Exposition-University Book.] (New York: Exposition Press. 1964. Pp. 127. $4.00.) This learned book raises a fundamental question about the legal competence of federal administrative agencies. It does so by studying the oldest of such agencies, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by examining with minute analysis how it handled one crucial question touching

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upon the interests of a new but rapidly growing element of the American transportation industry: the freight forwarder. The freight forwarder did not exist in this country when the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, with its clause requiring equality of treatment for shippers, was enacted. The freight forwarding business developed rapidly because there was a need for its services; it is now an immensely important factor in American transportation. Briefly, the freight forwarder assembles small parcels from shippers and transports them on railroads in carload lots, at the lower carload rates. In a group of cases arising in 1908, the ICC held that a railroad could not refuse to charge the freight forwarder the same rates charged to other shippers under like circumstances because the freight forwarder is a shipper and thus is entitled to the protection of the equality clause of the Commerce Act. The Supreme Court affirmed. Mr. Bennett takes strong exception to this manner of resolving the problem. First, he demonstrates, on common-law grounds, both American and English courts had already ruled that freight forwarders were common carriers. Secondly, it was to the advantage of the freight forwarding business to bring it within the concept of the common carrier because the status of common carrier would give it greater protection in its dealings with other common carriers, truckers as well as railroads. The author concedes that he has examined only a single problem and recognizes that other case studies of this sort will have to be made before generalizations can be justified. Nevertheless, it is clear that he thinks the freight forwarding decisions demonstrate a serious lack of legal competence on the part of administrative agencies, especially when they move into the field of the common law. Accordingly, he suggests the creation of a judicial advisory council for the commissions, which would have the duty of reviewing and revising opinions written by the commissions to make sure that their arguments and reasoning are legally sound and proper. This is both an interesting and competent analysis of one important decision of one important federal regulatory agency. Whether this one example supports any sort of generalization is another matter. One may doubt whether it does, but also express the hope that other scholars will develop the data on other cases.

University of Wisconsin DAVID FELLMAN

THE BUTCHER WORKMEN: A STUDY OF UNIONIZATION. By *David Brody.* [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 320. $6.50.) Thanks to the initiative of Harvard's Professor John T. Dunlop, a series of volumes has filled a number of important gaps in labor-management history. The latest deals with the development of unions in the American meat trade: the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America and the United Packinghouse Workers of America. Its author had already made an important contribution to the field with his *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era;* his latest adds to his laurels. His task was not an easy one. He had to deal not with one but two unions, and not with one type of worker but two: the packing house workers and the retail butchers. Nonetheless, he tells the story simply and well. He traces the successes and failures of the Butcher Workmen born in 1897: the union's evolving techniques; the management responses; the relationships between labor and management; the effects of wars, peace, depression, and prosperity upon the unions; the role of government in assisting or hindering unionization; the influence of the Great Depression and of the formation of the CIO, which brought the Packinghouse Workers on the scene; and how both unions differed in tactics and structures in their struggle with each other and with management. Brody tells the story of these unions as part of an industry that has undergone many technological and marketing changes, and he analyzes the influences that these have had on the unions' policies and membership at different stages in their histories. What, then, will the reader not find

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in Brody's book? He will not discover much information concerning the personality and philosophy of the unions' leaders. But even more important, he will note that Brody does not discuss the political and social philosophy of these unions, as if the only function of labor is to be active in collective bargaining and as if collective bargaining is not the opposite side of the coin to labor's political activities. But, despite these shortcomings, Brody succeeds in his main objective: to have the reader leave his volume "with some understanding of how unionization occurred among the butcher workmen and, by an extension of that, how it proceeded for the whole of American industry."

Michigan State University ALBERT A. BLUM

SOUTHERN WHITE PROTESTANTISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Kenneth K. Bailey.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. x, 180. $3.75.) It is possible to describe a "New England Mind" of the seventeenth century, a revivalistic seaboard sentiment of the eighteenth century, and a frontier faith of the nineteenth century. But if, in the twentieth century, one wishes to write of regionalism and religion, it is to the South that he must turn. For there a cultural insulation persists unlike that found elsewhere in the nation, except, here and there, for small, scattered pockets of piety. Professor Kenneth K. Bailey of Texas Western College turns the historian's searchlight on this last refuge of regional homogeneity. Narrowing the beam, he focuses on only the white South and its dominant religious orientation: Protestantism. With the abundant commentary offered today by or about the WASPS (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants), this careful, well-documented history of the one area where WASP still equals "the power structure" comes at an appropriate hour. Such topics as fundamentalism, evolution, the Al Smith campaign, bibliolatry, and racism are familiar, but the analysis is fresh, and the research is precise. And by no means is the finely drawn picture all bleak. Colleges were promoted, reforms initiated, and voices against bigotry heard. On the whole, however, "the stamp of the region has borne heavily on the churches." And, "When the churches intruded in temporal spheres, it was as if the South belonged to them as much as they belonged to the South." At this point it is important to remember that it is the twentieth century (even the 1960's) that is under discussion. For not an idea, a position, or a passion described in Bailey's excellent history would raise an eyebrow if only the title read "in the nineteenth century." And that is precisely why the story is worth having: a story of cultural captivity and lag, of religious illiteracy and sham. Only a native southerner could tell it so well; only a professional historian could tell it so truly.

University of Redlands EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

RFD: THE CHANGING FACE OF RURAL AMERICA. By *Wayne E. Fuller.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 361. $6.95.) Free delivery of mail and packages to rural folk, writes the author of this semipopular account of RFD, not only supplied farmers with news and goods but also reduced their sense of isolation and helped integrate them with the world that lay beyond their fields. Yet rural service developed slowly. Although service to the hinterland started before the turn of the century, the parcel-post system was not inaugurated until 1913. Congressional reluctance to appropriate adequate funds, indifference of Postmasters General, partisan squabbles, and opposition by private carriers all retarded quick and efficient service. Every man's mail to every man's door reached a high point in 1926 when more than 45,000 routes were in operation. The rural carrier is delineated during the horse-and-buggy days as a sort of fourth-class postmaster. In the author's sight, he became as distinct an American type as the cowboy or the steamboat pilot of Mark Twain's day. Unfortunately, I remember a series of surly, slovenly mailmen disinterested in

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service. Certainly, not all forged a "mystical bond" between farmers and Washington. Not even the carrier of the early motor age, "with all his boyish enthusiasm for the automobile," was quite the hero to his patrons that Mr. Fuller portrays with an excess of romanticism. Perhaps the author leaned too heavily, as his notes indicate, upon the reports of carriers. Yet, as is pointed out, patrons seldom entered formal complaint even if the men on mail routes loitered, talked politics, or tippled to excess. Farmers' reactions to the rural carrier ranged from dislike, through tolerance, to affection. Their real concern was in what he delivered. Adequate space relates the rapid growth of parcel post. Of interest also are remarks upon the role of free delivery as an "educational" institution and on the effect on the rural mind of news received by mail and newspaper versus news received by radio. The impact of mail-order houses, patent medicine advertisements, and "unsavory" literature might well stimulate further research by cultural historians and sociologists. A final chapter seems to offer the dubious explanation that country delivery was largely, if not primarily, responsible for the passing of rural isolation. Despite abundant nuggets of merit, the volume is marred by excessive verbalism, doubtful generalizations, overly enthusiastic comparisons, and superfluous sentimentalism. The index is both slim and spotty. A section of footnotes follows a two-page note on sources.

University of Minnesota PHILIP D. JORDAN

RACE RIOT AT EAST ST. LOUIS, JULY 2, 1917. By *Elliott M. Rudwick*. Foreword by *Oscar Handlin*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1964. Pp. xvii, 300. $6.00.) Timely, well done, and appearing at a time when men of good will have failed to prevent widespread racial violence, this work is a well-researched and thoughtful inquiry into the circumstances and social forces producing the most violent of twentieth-century American race riots. Mr. Rudwick is well qualified to write on this theme. Known to social historians for his fine biography of W. E. B. Du Bois, he has also written on criminology. A resident of East St. Louis, he is associate professor of sociology at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. There were actually two riots about a month apart, the failures of law enforcement agencies in the first leading to the second. After a brief but unforgettable narration of this horror story, the author turns to the social environment of the riots. An almost unbelievably venal political system, absentee ownership of local business, management and labor exploitation of racial tensions, an irresponsible press, and the chronic flaunting of law by gamblers and prostitutes of this wide-open town were some of the factors contributing to the social crisis. The author examines these in all noxious detail, making imaginative use of a great variety of local sources, published and unpublished, and the reports of state and federal investigating bodies. Occasionally the reader loses connection between the data presented and the riot, but he is rewarded by a vivid picture of a type of city rather neglected by urban historians. At the end of this microhistory which so smoothly joins history and sociology that the reader cannot tell where one discipline ends and the other begins, a final chapter is clearly sociological in its method and what may be called its *hubris*. This chapter attempts through a thinner study of other twentieth-century race riots, to determine what preconditions are common to them as a basis for anticipating and possibly preventing them. Those historians beguiled by the uniqueness of historical events will be skeptical of the effort. I found the results convincing, however, and probably useful to law enforcement agencies and others who work with situations of social unrest.

University of Cincinnati LOUIS R. HARLAN

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., AND THE DECLINE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN WISCONSIN. By *Roger T. Johnson*. (Madison: State Historical Society

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of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1964. Pp. ix, 195. $3.50.) In his preface, Roger T. Johnson states that Senator La Follette would not have liked the particular emphasis the book places on his career. He goes on to say that the book does not deal with the senatorial career of the scion of the famous political family, wherein whatever claim to fame Robert M. La Follette, Jr., may have must rest. Nor, adds Johnson, is the book a history of Wisconsin's Progressive party when young La Follette was its outstanding figure. Instead the book portrays its hero "as a political leader when the Progressive movement founded by his father was in its decline." In sum, the book deals with the part of the senator's life to which he gave the least, for which he hardly bothered to conceal his loathing: the partisan part of politics. Nowhere, in either preface or book, does Johnson reveal why he chose to write on so unpromising a subject. "Journalism" within the historical guild is a much-used epithet. It usually refers to some imaginative or brilliant work of interpretation whose grounding in fact is held to be unsound. It might be far better used to describe the many supposed works of scholarship, like the present one, that merely paste together the writings and gossip of journalists of the past. Basing his account almost entirely on newspaper and magazine sources, Johnson methodically traces year by year the minor contribution that his hero made to the history of the Progressive party in Wisconsin. His infrequent flights of interpretation are usually based on the unsubstantiated recollections of interviews long after the event. Naïve after a fashion that would place any cub reporter back on obituaries, so repetitious and wooden in style as to bring despair to any copy editor, Johnson's story ends by telling us little more than that La Follette's distaste for partisan politics had something to do with the decline of his party in Wisconsin.

Rutgers University CHARLES FORCEY

A MINER'S LIFE: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *John Brophy*. Edited and supplemented by *John O. P. Hall*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 320. $7.50.) To some degree this book is less an autobiography than a work of collaboration between John Brophy and John O. P. Hall. Brophy wrote a substantial proportion of the final product, but Hall edited and in part rewrote portions of Brophy's original manuscript and, in addition, on the basis of numerous interviews with Brophy and his own research, composed an account of events that Brophy had neglected to describe. Brophy, however, approved the final manuscript, and, we are told, "most of the facts and all the opinions" in the book are his. The editor indicates in his introduction how the book was constructed, but, despite his remarks, it is impossible in most chapters to determine whether a particular paragraph was written by Brophy or Hall. Widely respected inside and outside the labor movement, Brophy, as Hall states, was "as nearly selfless as a man could be in his devotion to what he considered the best ideals of trade unionism." Born in England in 1883 into a coal mining family, Brophy entered the Pennsylvania mines just before his twelfth birthday and three years later was already a union member. Rising to the rank of a district president in the United Mine Workers, Brophy, after World War I, came to differ sharply with John L. Lewis on policy matters. He contested with Lewis for the UMW presidency in 1926, was unsuccessful, and was later expelled from the union. He was invited back to the UMW fold after the National Industrial Recovery Act revived the moribund coal miners' union, and he played a key role in helping the newly formed CIO to organize the unorganized. Brophy later served the labor movement in a variety of capacities until his retirement in 1961. The most interesting portion of the book is its description of the life of the coal miner in the mines and mining towns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There is, of course, much in the volume on the history of the UMW and of such important events in the union's annals as the coal strikes

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of 1919 and 1922, the campaign for the nationalization of the coal mines in the early 1920's, the controversy between Brophy and Lewis and Brophy's Save the Union program, and the crucial part played by the UMW in bringing organization to the mass production industries in the 1930's. The view presented of Lewis, as might have been expected, is not a particularly flattering one, although Brophy does recognize the importance of Lewis' contribution to the union cause in the New Deal era. Brophy has some interesting things to say about such matters as the Goodyear strike of 1936, the GM sit-down strike, and the Allis-Chalmers strike of 1947, but one wishes that more space had been devoted in this book to the great organizing campaigns of the CIO in the 1930's and to Brophy's activities in the union field during and after World War II.

University of Michigan SIDNEY FINE

THE NEW DEAL'S SEC: THE FORMATIVE YEARS. By *Ralph F. de Bedts.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 226. $6.50.) In this briskly written monograph, Professor de Bedts makes a number of interesting points. He views the Securities and Exchange Commission as an evolution from progressivism, but "with its Progressivism more antifraud and anticorruption than antibigness." He agrees that the Brandeisian phrase "other people's money" is the key to FDR's thinking on the Holding Company Act, but argues: "The primary motive was to bring about fiduciary integrity, not to attack bigness." He points out that at the same time that business was being granted self-policing privileges under the NRA, the financial community was being more harshly treated in the Securities Act of 1933. Yet he emphasizes that the SEC recognized "that the confidence of the investor was essential to the preservation of a democratic capitalist system," and he concludes that, as a consequence, the SEC "became the outstanding demonstration that the New Deal attempted to revitalize American capitalism rather than bring about its destruction." Unfortunately, the book, although well reasoned, is ill conceived. Of the eight chapters in this short volume, only three are devoted to the functioning of the SEC. Astonishingly, even these chapters offer almost nothing on the agency's actual performance. For example, the author has not seen fit to deal with so crucial a controversy as that over the impact of the SEC on new investment; the dramatic story of the Swift issue, which broke the logjam, is not even mentioned. The book rests, moreover, on inadequate research; most of the volume might have been written a generation ago, for it relies almost wholly on sources available in the 1930's, and largely ignores both two decades of writing on the New Deal and the archives opened in the post-Roosevelt era. Although the writer makes some use of the Roosevelt manuscripts, he fails to explore the papers of a single congressional leader, despite the disproportionate emphasis the book gives to legislation. Even more regrettable is the fact that the author has not made use of the SEC records in the National Archives nor of other relevant collections; as a result one never has the sense that he is viewing the workings of the SEC from the inside. This book is intelligent and lucidly written, but since it is neither well focused nor based on sufficient research, it falls short of being the kind of study of a New Deal agency one might have hoped to have.

Columbia University WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD WAR II. In two volumes. By *A. Russell Buchanan.* [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. xvii, 296; ix, 297–635. $6.00 each.) These volumes provide a concise summary of American military, naval, and air operations during the Second World War. While some attention is given to domestic issues, and an attempt is made to outline the major diplomatic developments, particularly in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, neither of these subjects receives the sort of detailed consideration

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that is given the more purely military themes. The author has used the excellent battle histories written since the war as well as the numerous autobiographies and biographies of the principal military and civilian leaders. He has shown great skill in culling from these voluminous records the data necessary for a coherent explanation of the war's progress. While avoiding the intrusion of his own opinions, he has indicated areas that remain the subject of controversy, about which the evidence is contradictory or insufficient. The battle narratives are well written and admirably presented. If reservations are to be expressed about the work, they involve the author's rather limited definition of the scope of his study. The original "American Nation Series" reflected the historical accomplishments and intellectual concerns of the first generation of American academic historians. The new series is intended to represent the views and methods common to professional historians today. These volumes cannot be said to be sufficiently ambitious in this respect. They do not show much concern with the political and social forces and the intellectual currents that caused the United States to wage the war in the way that it did. Almost no effort is made to interpret and explain fundamental policy decisions: why, for example, American leaders found Churchill's strategic and diplomatic concepts so uncongenial, why so little attention was given to the postwar settlements likely to follow victory, how certain military principles came to be adopted with almost no discussion of their political adequacy. Relations with the Soviet Union are insufficiently treated, and almost nothing is said of United States' dealings with other of its Allies. The story of American industrial and scientific mobilization is given only the most cursory study. There is almost certainly too much concern in these volumes with individuals and too little with institutions. How the latter were required to accommodate themselves to fulfill certain new obligations and needs is rarely suggested. "War history," written by a professional historian in the intellectual climate now prevailing, ought to be something other than a military chronicle. Dr. Buchanan has gone some distance in avoiding that, but he has come perilously close to ignoring some of the larger possibilities of his study. The political, economic, psychological, and diplomatic components of his inquiry deserved a more considerable place. The difficulty of writing in short compass of such large events ought not to be underestimated. It is because these volumes are as good as they are, showing such excellent judgment in the matters that they do treat, that one feels entitled to ask for more. The bibliography is excellent.

Harvard University STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

TARGET TOKYO: THE HALSEY-DOOLITTLE RAID. By *James M. Merrill.* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. 1964. Pp. 208. $4.95.) This is the story of the Tokyo raid of April 18, 1942, or, as it is sometimes called in deference to interservice relations, the Halsey-Doolittle raid. Delivered only nine days after the surrender of Bataan, at a time when Allied fortunes in the Pacific were at their lowest ebb, the carrier-borne B-25 attack on Japan was a powerful boost to morale at home and a grim warning of American determination to take full revenge for Pearl Harbor. The Japanese, mystified by the source of the attack and unenlightened by President Roosevelt's quip about "Shangri-La," retaliated by executing the captured crews, killing thousands of Chinese for collaborating with the Americans, and launching an invasion of Midway and the Aleutians. Whether the raid was worth the cost is not at all certain, but this question is not considered in this or in previous studies of the raid. Despite the publisher's blurb, *Target Tokyo* is not the first adequate account of the Tokyo raid and contains little or no essential information that is not already available elsewhere. The basic sources used by Professor Merrill were used by the official army and air force historians of World War II, by Admiral Morison in his history of naval operations, and by others. In some respects, especially for the planning stages and stra-

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tegic aspects of the raid, these accounts, although brief, are more accurate and detailed than Merrill's. What he has done is to flesh out the personal accounts of the individual crews from various popular and official sources and to add human-interest material gathered from interviews and newspaper stories in the United States and Japan. All this has made it possible to expand an essentially brief narrative into a small book without adding to our knowledge or understanding of the event. By adopting a deliberately journalistic style and episodic organization, moreover, the author has blurred the sharp outline of the raid, sacrificing the flow of the historical narrative and the natural sequence of events for human interest and dramatic effect. The quality of the work is further marred by the use of collective attributions rather than footnotes and the repetition of conversations taken from journalistic sources. In short, Merrill has produced a journalistic rather than a historical account of the Tokyo raid.

Dartmouth College LOUIS MORTON

CIVIL AFFAIRS: SOLDIERS BECOME GOVERNORS. By *Harry L. Coles* and *Albert K. Weinberg*. [U.S. Army in World War II: Special Studies.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 932. $7.75.) This volume should interest historians for two primary reasons: its content and manner of presentation. The former helpfully illuminates an area where there has been little knowledge but much discussion; the latter marks a departure from a traditional documentary presentation to one organized around subjects and problems. Not comprehensive (nor could it be), this work carries civil affairs (military government) through the planning phase, the sometimes bitter discussion of whether military or civilian agencies should be the Allied instruments of control in occupied and liberated countries, and the North African invasion. Beyond this the greater stress is placed on the occupation of Italy because of its seminal role in developing policies, standardizing doctrine, and creating an awareness of the breadth and importance of the field. The balance of the volume is devoted to civil affairs planning for Western Europe and problems in the liberated countries. The occupations of Germany and Austria are omitted as are both the planning and occupation of Japan. The authors have done a brilliant job in the selection and editing of the documents, and the work is exceptionally well organized. Long documents dealing with several topics have been broken into parts so that topical excerpts are related chronologically and without extraneous material to the problems with which they deal. Both by clarification of basic problems and by documentary identification the volume has opened wide areas to civilian researchers. Those interested in decision making and the "proper" role of the military vis-à-vis civilian agencies will find both cogent illustration and intelligent direction. As the authors state in their preface, the issue was not roles but values. Criticism of such a work is both easy and difficult. It is easy to say, because true, that the volume is difficult to read. All documentary collections are. The authors' technique makes this charge less applicable than to others I have read. The breadth of the work is impressive, but the topic dealt with is so complex that I feel it should be even broader. History needs poetry and grace. The chapter introductions and captions almost but do not quite fill the gap. Also, possibly because of editing after the captions were written, some captions are broader than the documents they describe. The work is a remarkable and superior piece of scholarship despite the necessary limitations.

Idaho State University JOSEPH A. HEARST

THE UNCERTAIN SOUTH: ITS CHANGING PATTERNS OF POLITICS IN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Charles O. Lerche, Jr.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1964. Pp. 324. $6.95.) This is a significant contribution to the growing list of state and

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regional studies dealing with recent and current politics in the United States. The author has made an intensive study of key roll call votes on foreign aid and a series of other "multilateral" issues in the House of Representatives during the period 1953–1962. He demonstrates that during the last decade the South has become the strongest opponent of foreign aid and of other international programs of any section of the country. Focusing on the 126 southern districts (the 11 former Confederate states plus West Virginia, Kentucky, and Oklahoma), he correlates each representative's cumulative votes on foreign policy with certain social, demographic, and economic criteria for the congressional district he serves. The implications of the analysis go far beyond the attitudes of the congressmen and their region on international questions. Lerche has in fact used his ingenious construct not only to explain the relationship between the social and economic metamorphosis of the South and the region's drastic shift in foreign policy views in recent years, but also to demonstrate what he regards as a fundamental shift in the direction of southern politics. "The most significant single political fact about the contemporary South," he concludes, "is the reappearance of protest as a political force and of a new generation of Southern demagogues as the spokesmen and manipulators of that mass unease." This protest, Lerche argues, is not the result of developments in international affairs; it was spawned by the rapid and painful changes the South has undergone during the last decade and a half. In his efforts to establish the importance of social change in accounting for southern political protest, the author enters freely into the realms of sociology and social psychology. His sketch of the region's political history before World War II seems oversimplified, and he perhaps underestimates the influence of certain outside developments, including the changing nature of the Democratic party at the national level. His thesis that "poor whites" have finally come to dominate politics below the Potomac is surely too monolithic an interpretation of recent southern politics. But he has constructed a regional typology of broad political significance and has imaginatively adumbrated the relationship between the political posture of a particular area and such phenomena as per capita income, rate and kind of industrialization, urbanization, and rural decline. As for the future, Lerche foresees the eventual transformation of southern politics and the region's "final rendezvous with America," probably along the lines of the transition already completed by some of the South's "big-city multilateralist" districts. Yet that process will take a long time, he declares, and meanwhile the times are perilous, and the South is uncertain.

Vanderbilt University DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

FOREIGN AID AND FOREIGN POLICY. By *Edward S. Mason.* [The Elihu Root Lectures.] (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1964. Pp. ix, 118. $3.50.) The three "Elihu Root Lectures" before the Council on Foreign Relations by Dr. Edward S. Mason, Lamont University Professor at Harvard, are published in this book. In them the author discussed foreign aid as an instrument of foreign policy, the rationale for foreign aid, and the Alliance for Progress. Because the topics were lectures, there is the appearance of repetitiousness, but while elementary, the book is not superficial. There is much here for the historian who is befuddled by American aid programs and wants to understand why these activities have not achieved the expected satisfactory results. Mason suggests that the United States aid programs serve so many goals and interests that the total cannot really produce the impact expected by the public. He notes that the many "strings" attached to aid programs often reduce by one-third the true value of the assistance to the country receiving aid. When one recognizes that military hardware to the nine countries on the periphery of the Communist world bulks large in the total American aid budget and passes Congress with few objections, then the difficulties of funding developmental

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assistance to African and Latin American nations are easily appreciated. Congress and people still see foreign aid primarily as a security-producing tactic and only secondarily as a program designed to alleviate human suffering. Mason charges that this nation is too often unclear in its aid objectives and thus moves from one tactical situation to another without serving the goals of enhanced national security for the United States or economic development in the country involved. The author describes the Alliance for Progress as sluggish and stresses the need for better planning in its Washington headquarters.

San Jose State College GERALD E. WHEELER

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1963. Edited by *Richard P. Stebbins.* With the assistance of *Elaine P. Adam.* (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1964. Pp. xxiv, 480. $7.50.) THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1963. By *Richard P. Stebbins.* (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1964. Pp. xi, 400. $6.95.) The eight parallel chapters in these companion volumes deal, respectively, with general trends in American policy, East-West relations, discord in the West, and American policy in the Middle East, Southern and Eastern Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the United Nations. The narrative treatment is, as in the earlier volumes, comprehensive, objective, and readable. The documents seem well selected. Some readers will regret the omission of President Kennedy's Berlin speech from those chosen to represent his European tour of June and July. Kennedy's assassination and reactions to it abroad receive considerable attention. Everywhere except in Communist China it apparently evoked genuine sorrow and sympathy. In Mr. Stebbins' estimation, it eased tension with the Soviet Union, where the "spirit of Moscow," associated with the Test-Ban Treaty of August, had suffered a decline. In Latin America, on the other hand, faith in the concept of the Alliance for Progress suffered a setback with the death of its author. The assassination of another head of state, President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, also receives some attention. The *Documents* reproduce President Kennedy's interview with Walter Cronkite of CBS, September 2, in which the President suggested that "changes in policy and perhaps with personnel" were essential to the winning of the war in that quarter, but Stebbins finds no evidence that the United States had any hand specifically in the preparation or execution of the *coup d'état* of November 2. Friction with Canada and with President de Gaulle receives adequate treatment. Excerpts from De Gaulle's famous press conference of January 14 occupy no less than thirteen pages in the *Documents.* The elusiveness of President Nasser's legions in Yemen is brought out in a series of progressively less hopeful State Department releases. American policy toward Africa, applied largely through the United Nations, supported, with qualifications, the antagonism of the newly independent states to the continuance of colonial rule by Portugal and to the policy of apartheid practiced by South Africa. The United States, through Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, asserted the right of the UN to admonish South Africa on the subject of apartheid, domestic policy though it is, but opposed the use of sanctions as "both bad law and bad policy." Neither in these few instances, nor elsewhere in the story as presented here, is there any discernible change in policy when Johnson's hand replaces Kennedy's. The "let us continue" appeal of Johnson's speech of November 27 held good through the remainder of the year.

University of Notre Dame JULIUS W. PRATT

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. [The American Assembly, Columbia University. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. viii, 184. $3.95.) The relationship between the United States and Canada is unequal in more

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senses than one. There is an inequality not only of power but of interest. The adjacency of the United States is a dominant factor in Canadian thinking, while most Americans take Canadians for granted as near Americans, somewhat slower paced perhaps, except for the French nationalists of Quebec, whose manifestations are viewed in the United States with puzzlement but not with alarm. Jacob Viner may well be right when he says that "at a conservative estimate 99.4 per cent of the American people have either no (or the skimpiest possible) awareness of a Canadian-American problem, or of an American-Canadian problem." This is a book that Americans and Canadians should read, though most of them will not. It provides a number of insights into a relationship that certainly, as Douglas Le Pan says, "is something unique in the world." In a particularly impressive essay, James Eayrs, with a flick at a recent utterance by President Johnson, admonishes statesmen of both countries to "resist the temptation to believe their politics to be neighbourly rather than international." Politicians in Washington might observe this injunction; it would lessen the temptation to cry *et tu, Brute* when they are subjected to jabs from north of the border.

University of California, San Diego JOHN S. GALBRAITH

VANCOUVER: FROM MILLTOWN TO METROPOLIS. By *Alan Morley*. (Vancouver: Mitchell Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 234. $5.95.) This book was written to assist in marking the seventy-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of Vancouver in 1886. It is not, the author states, a history; rather it is a biography. Mr. Morley justifies the distinction. A sufficient background of history is maintained, and the plan of the book is chronological. But the story is told by quick character sketches and a rapid montage of humorous, squalid, spectacular, or shocking events. Vancouver is not personified, but a character is assumed; the city is young, lusty, reckless, uncircumscribed, unrepentant, dreamy. It is historical reportage, part police court, part romance, always tender-tough. The result is a readable and interesting book. It should please many Vancouverites and will infuriate some British Columbians. It may interest, but will not greatly assist the practicing historians except by providing local information and color. The chapters on the choice of Burrard Inlet for the Pacific terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway and on the early formation of Vancouver are of general interest. The defects of Morley's method, however, are shown by the fact that the Panama Canal is not mentioned in his text. Yet the canal, perhaps even more than the CPR, made Vancouver what it is: one of the great ports of the Pacific, the third city of Canada, perhaps to be its first, and the western metropolis of Canada as far inland as mid-Saskatchewan.

University of Manitoba W. L. MORTON

BANDEIRANTES AND PIONEERS. By [*Clodomir*] *Vianna Moog*. Translated from the Portuguese by *L. L. Barrett*. (New York: George Braziller. 1964. Pp. 316. $6.95.) Since first published in Portuguese in 1955 this book has become a minor Brazilian classic. As the original subtitle—"Parallel between Two Cultures"—indicates, the author undertakes to compare the cultural premises of the civilizations of Brazil and the United States. The *bandeirante* (combined pathfinder-slaver-prospector of colonial Brazil) and the American pioneer are used as partial symbols of two collective psychologies. These in turn are related to spiritual origins, Catholic or Protestant. The Brazilian traits include addiction to the past, racial tolerance, exacerbated individualism, prejudice against useful labor, desire for rapid wealth, scorn for the economic virtues, victory of the material over the spiritual. The American traits include break with the past, racial discrimination, Puritanism, belief in man's natural goodness and perfectibility, success at any price, reverence for the economic virtues. As historical archetypes the *bandeirante* is seen as predatory and extractivist, the pioneer as progres-

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sive and constructive. Although Vianna Moog occasionally verges on the stereotypic, his polarity is not as categorical as this schema suggests. Described as a novelist, essayist, and journalist, the author displays feeling for the subtleties of historical experience. He writes, as he puts it, more from "direct observation" than from "bookish research." Understandably, his imagination shows to less advantage in dealing with systems of thought and broad historical movements than in illuminating the situations and mythology of everyday life. His points are nicely made when he compares the design and furnishing of Brazilian and American homes; when he analogizes the legends of Diogo Álvares and John Smith; when he explains Lincoln and Aleijadinho as culture heroes who hold "the secret of everything that is lacking" in their respective cultures. Whatever its intellectual or scholarly shortcomings, the translation of *Bandeirantes and Pioneers* at this moment is important for two reasons. First, the book neither romanticizes nor derogates Brazilian history, and it insists on the relevance of Brazil's past to its present. Vianna Moog even suggests that "the master outlines of American culture" (isolationism, capitalism, racialism, nationalism) have come under sharp attack at the very moment when "the lines of Brazilian culture formerly most combated . . . are being more and more sanctioned by universal consent." Second, the book takes its place with other recent translations (Daniel Cosío Villegas, João Cruz Costa, Octavio Paz, Samuel Ramos, Leopoldo Zea) to remind American scholars that they have virtually abdicated any responsibility for examining and taking seriously the cultural and spiritual premises of Latin American history.

Yale University RICHARD M. MORSE

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Richard N. Adams et al.* Edited by *John J. Johnson.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 282. $6.75.) The theme of continuity and change is at least implicit in all historical writing. Its explicit development in this book has resulted in a substantial contribution to the recent history of Latin America. This is a noteworthy fact, and a sign of the times, for of the book's ten contributors, only two belong to departments of history; the others represent anthropology, economics, music, political science, Romance languages, and sociology. Johnson's introduction, devoted largely to describing "the main forces now at work in Latin America," is followed by eight chapters on as many social groups. Each of these, says the editor, is examined with special reference to its main problems and aspirations and the realism of its goals "in terms of its own capabilities and the national interest." The eight chapters and their authors are: "The Peasant" (Charles Wagley), "Rural Labor" (Richard N. Adams), "The Writer" (Fred P. Ellison), "The Artist" (Gilbert Chase), "The Military" (Lyle N. McAlister), "The Industrialist" (W. Paul Strassmann), "The Urban Worker" (Frank Bonilla), and "The University Student" (K. H. Silvert). In the concluding chapter, described as a "wrap-up for the volume," Latin America and Japan are compared by a specialist on Japan, the British sociologist R. P. Dore. Most of the contributors provide useful sketches of the main developments in their respective fields in the present century; some push well back into the nineteenth century. In varying degrees, all are troubled by the multiplicity of countries to be covered and the inadequacy of the materials for covering them. The solutions of this problem likewise vary widely. So also do the conclusions of the authors regarding the theme of the book's title. The editor stresses "change instead of continuity" and apparently thinks that is the stress given by the volume as a whole. This is not at all obvious in some of the chapters. McAlister, for example, pictures the Latin American armed forces as having "played an important role in developing the nation state as 'a concept, an ideal, and an actuality'" from the early nineteenth century. Silvert finds that "Latin America has always been a hearty consumer of European ideas and practices" and that "the present search for ideology,

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technique, and science has broadened the university's role in the mimetic process," so that "much research is accomplished by waiting for the mail." And Bonilla, while noting that substantial social changes have taken place in Latin America in the last half century, also observes that "in some fundamental way, nothing has changed." Such divergences, however, only give added zest to this stimulating volume, which deserves a warm welcome from all students and teachers of Latin American history in the national period.

University of Pennsylvania ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO. By *Eric Williams.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. x, 292. $6.95.) The absence of a general history of the islands about to achieve independence under his political leadership impelled Dr. Williams to resume historical publication in order to encourage a sense of national origins and unity. The book was, however, not conceived as a work of scholarship but as "a manifesto of a subjugated people," and it was written in one month. Its contents reflect a wide knowledge of the materials of West Indian history and a deep sense of the political, economic, and social injustices to which the islands of the Caribbean have been submitted under imperial rule. Lengthy extracts from documents are linked by passages of political rhetoric as Williams compiles his indictment of colonialism. Despite this, the effect is not that of a popular history: the author is as angered by historians' neglect as by mediocre governors, and J. A. Froude is singled out for exceptionally severe castigation. This identity of political and historical judgments makes comment on the academic merits of the account virtually impossible. One may regret that Williams has been forced into assembling so hastily the results of years of research and agree that a general history was urgently needed, even if the subject was not so devoid of attention as the bibliography suggests. It may be that Trinidad cannot yet afford the luxury of attempts at historical objectivity and that in this sense Williams has more in common with his antagonist Froude than with his former academic colleagues. Victorian assumptions of the imperial mission have not yet been consigned to neutral regions of historiography. Trinidad and Tobago still require a general history; this is a learned insight into anticolonialism.

University of Bristol PETER MARSHALL

CRÓNICA DE LOS COLEGIOS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE DE LA NUEVA ESPAÑA. By *Isidro Felix de Espinosa, O.F.M.* New edition with notes and introduction by *Lino G. Canedo, O.F.M.* [Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History. Franciscan Historical Classics, Volume II.] (Washington, D. C.: the Academy. 1964. Pp. cii, 972. Cloth $15.00, paper $12.00.) The revival of Franciscan missionary activity in Spanish America during the last part of the seventeenth century was largely the work of the new *colegios de propaganda fide,* of which the first was the college of Querétaro founded in 1683. The colleges, which were essentially centers for selecting and training missionaries, remained active until the early nineteenth century. The missions of our state of California were the work of friars from perhaps the best-known college, that of San Fernando in Mexico City. One of our most important sources for the history of the new missionary centers and their work among the Indians is the chronicle of the first sixty years of activity, written by Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, official historian of the colleges. The first and until now only edition bears the date of 1746, but revision by the author and printing actually continued into 1747. The chronicle, with its long biographies of notable missionaries, gives much information on the spread of Christianity in Guatemala as well as in New Mexico and Texas. Although Espinosa adhered scrupulously to memoirs and official reports and correspondence wherever they were available, he brought to his history much per-

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sonal knowledge of the men and events that he described. His chronicle is thus more than a mere summary of other sources. It is, nevertheless, chronicle rather than history. Espinosa's purpose was moral edification and inspiration through the lives of saintly men. His very purpose, however, resulted in a notable lack of national attachment. He was interested in the spread of Christianity rather than of Spanish dominion, even though missionary activity in Texas obviously was encouraged by the Spanish crown in order to create a barrier against the French. The chronicle has long been a rarity, available only in the one edition. It has now been reprinted by the Academy of American Franciscan History as Volume II of "Franciscan Historical Classics" in an excellent edition, which adds an impressive critical apparatus. In a long introduction, Fray Lino Gómez Canedo first discusses the origin and role of the *colegios de propaganda fide* and gives a biography of Espinosa. The second part of the introduction examines Espinosa's use of sources and evaluates his qualities as historian. The text of the chronicle itself has been annotated by Fray Lino, who thus provides necessary identifications and indicates the existence of new or variant information. A relatively full index and careful bibliographies, including one of authors and works cited by Espinosa, add to the usefulness of the edition. Typography and format are excellent. The edition does honor to the academy.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

FLOWERS FOR THE KING: THE EXPEDITION OF RUIZ AND PAVÓN AND THE *FLORA OF PERU*. By *Arthur Robert Steele*. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 378. $10.00.) Our knowledge of Spanish scientific expeditions to America in the eighteenth century is substantially advanced by A. R. Steele's study of the Ruiz-Pavón journey to Peru and Chile (1777–1778). The two Spaniards, together with the French botanist Joseph Dombey, secured several thousand floral descriptions and helped to rescue Spanish science, temporarily, from its reputation for unrealized potential. The work falls only partially within the bounds of a history of science, for botany was one of the avenues of enlightened thought, and the vicissitudes of the expedition's aftermath offer a valuable commentary on the conditions of the Spanish world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Two chapters describe the history of botanical knowledge and its vogue in Spain. The expedition and the subsequent efforts to publish its findings are chronicled in full detail. Wranglings over priorities in discovery and publication reveal a society dedicated not to science alone but to the prestige that scientific discovery afforded, and the history degenerates into eloquent recriminations among the several rivals for this prestige. It is interesting that the Spanish colonies through private donation (another way in which prestige was gained) raised over forty thousand pesos for the *Flora peruviana*, of which several volumes appeared. Ruiz died in 1816, but Pavón lived until 1840, peddling away the expedition's remnant specimens and writing letters of fawning servility and masterly self-justification. A kind of standard Spanish decline is illustrated by this transition from action to verbiage. Despite the romantic title and the contrived subheadings ("The Case of the Abducted Herbarium," "Decades of Decadence") Steele's researches are solidly based on documentary records in the *Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales* in Madrid and other European and American archives.

State University of Iowa CHARLES GIBSON

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Leland H. Carlson, Claremont Graduate School

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William N. Simonson, Washington, D. C.

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* * * * Historical News * * * *

The Washington Meeting, 1964*

The triennial cycle brought the Annual Meeting back to Washington in 1964, and the ascending spiral of attendance established the usual new record. Two headquarters hotels, the Shoreham and the Sheraton-Park, provided abundant space for sessions, but both regulars and irregulars spilled over into five near-by hotels and several more remote hostelries before all 4,356 registrants found accommodations. For the first time in several years registration, exhibitors, the Professional Register, and the complex of local arrangements had what, in advance, appeared room to spare. Experience proved that too much was just enough and provoked speculation whether any quarters short of Pentagon dimensions would accommodate the Annual Meeting in its centennial year. (Doubtless some such foreboding had moved the Council earlier in the year to authorize the appointment of an *ad hoc* committee comprised of recent Program Chairmen and Local Arrangements Chairmen to study the format of the Annual Meeting and make recommendations for its future.)

Eight members of the Association served as the Program Committee: Charles J. Bishko, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Kent Roberts Greenfield, Harry N. Howard, Aubrey C. Land (chairman), John Tate Lanning, Rayford Logan, and Morris L. Radoff. As a guiding principle, the committee agreed on the proposition that sessions should represent outstanding research and thinking in all fields of history. No obvious theme was suggested initially, and we did not later attempt to contrive one to cover the diversity represented in the offering as it developed. Assured of session rooms, ample in number and seating capacity, we proposed to enlarge the regular sessions to sixty if sufficient papers became available. The additional sessions would, we felt, give fuller representation to certain areas, notably Asian and African studies. Slavic and Eastern European as well as Latin American areas were to have greater depth.

The committee had an organizational session at the Sheraton Hotel in Philadelphia during the 1963 Annual Meeting. Through succeeding months until the last full session in May the members devoted time stolen from personal research to the creation of the program finally mailed out in late autumn. I can testify to hours spent and the almost endless letters written by each member in organizing the sessions. Besides their own suggestions, many of which finally developed into sessions on the printed program, the committee dealt with a mass of returns from a general invitation sent to every history department in the United States. From these riches the committee made its selection, often with the anguish experienced in parting with a favorite limb when a suggestive paper could not be included. If

* This is an abridged account of the Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., December 28–30, 1964. A full report will be published in the *Annual Report, Proceedings,* Volume I, 1964, available to members on request.

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all-day meetings ever tried the patience, they never stemmed the flow of wit and wisdom that went into the settlement of problems before us—from the recruitment of younger scholars with fresh ideas to the intricacies of balance among fields.

A full account of the meeting will appear in the *Annual Report* for 1964. The following summary cannot go beyond mention of scheduled activities, with brief descriptions of a few high lights.

After a rainy Sunday afternoon threatened difficulties for members arriving by air, the weather cooperated generously enough during the following three days so that passage between the two hotels could be managed without hat and topcoat, at least by the hardiest. Ten sessions scheduled to meet at 9:30 on Monday morning, December 28, set a pattern for the academic offering of succeeding meeting periods. Joint sessions with associated groups were represented by three panels; other joint sessions were thereafter distributed as evenly as possible. Themes in United States history dominated three sessions: "American Expansion," "Local History: Perspectives and Horizons" (joint session with the American Association for State and Local History), and "Christian Crusaders for Social Justice in Modern America" (joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association). Three sessions emphasized subject matter in modern European history: "Bourbon France," "Three Capitals and Their Diplomacy, 1850–1870," and "Religious Diversity and National Conformity in Southeastern Europe." The session "British Interests in Africa, 1880–1922," included papers of interest to students of both British and African affairs. "India in Transition—1740–1860" fell squarely in Asian history. "Central America: The Story of Five Retarded Republics" was the first of several sessions devoted to Latin American history. A joint session with the History of Education Society had a European emphasis.

Following the Monday morning sessions the Conference on Latin American History assembled at the Shoreham to hear a discussion of "Latin American Studies in the United States." The featured paper at the Phi Alpha Theta luncheon was "Presidents in Retirement."

Afternoon sessions gave American political historians a choice between "Jacksonian Politics: The Bank War on Two Fronts" and "Farm Politics in Twentieth-Century America" (joint session with the Agricultural History Society). Two sessions of considerable interest, "History of Museums in the United States" and "Publication of Historical Source Materials" (joint session with the Society of American Archivists), completed the American offering. European sessions ranged from "Social Forces in Reformation History" (joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research) through "Church History and Historiography in the Enlightenment" (joint session with the American Society of Church History) to "The Crisis of European Liberalism in the 1860's." A panel discussion, "Stalinism in Historical Perspective," a session on "The Horn of Africa," and two charming papers under the formidable label "Eighteenth-Century Art: The Problem of Periodization" completed the afternoon program.

Monday's schedule ended with two traditional dinners. Merle Curti read a paper, "The American Exploration of Dreams and Dreamers," at the annual dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America John W. Baldwin spoke on "Paradisius mundi

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Parisius: The Paris of Philip Augustus." Rumor has it that unscheduled activities continued for many hours.

Monday attendances had already shown that some session rooms could barely contain all members and visitors who chose to forego lobby politics in favor of hearing papers. Tuesday's experience added a new term, "standee," to Association argot, and standees were the rule during the day. "Civil Rights for Negroes" drew the record attendance. Large audiences were also present at other American history sessions: "The Peace of Paris, 1783," "Problems of the Canadian Economy" (joint session with the Canadian Historical Association), and "Catholics Expand through the Lower Mississippi Valley" (joint session with the Southern Historical Association). European sessions for a variety of tastes similarly attracted capacity houses: "Nationalism—Then and Now," "Enemies of the Weimar Republic," "Russian Concepts of the State" (joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European History), "Science and Revolutionary Politics" (joint session with the History of Science Society), and a joint session on representation with the American Chapter of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. Asian history was represented by "Islam: Yesterday and Today."

Five luncheon conferences filled the interlude between morning and afternoon on Tuesday: the Society of American Archivists, the Modern European History Section, the Conference on Slavic and East European History, the Conference on Asian History, and the American Society of Church History.

Again in the afternoon, session room prevailed over corridor. Panels on "American Political History," "The First Bank of the United States" (joint session with the Economic History Association), "The New Deal: Roosevelt and Congress," and "Social Mobility and Status in the United States: Three Case Studies" provided fare for specialists in United States history. The joint session with the Latin American Conference, "The Jesuits after 1767," broadened the scope of the American program to hemispheric dimensions. Three sessions, "Romanization of the Provinces in the Early Empire," "Medieval Population Trends before the Black Death," and a joint session with the Conference Group for Central European History on "Fifty Years After: The World War I Alliance of the Central Powers in Retrospect," gave European history maximum chronological coverage. "The Occupation of Japan" centered on a historical problem of interest beyond the field of East Asian studies. Finally "*The Rise of the West:* An Appraisal" widened the perspective of the afternoon to include the entire human community.

Following the Business Meeting a carefully laid plot involving some of the first characters of the Association came to a head. As nearly as the scanty documentation shows, this unscheduled activity was hatched as "nothing less than a revolt" in the headquarters of a known student of revolutionary personages and politics, President Julian P. Boyd. The web of conspiracy enmeshed nearly six score. Its object was discovered when this band turned the table on Alfred A. Knopf, making him guest at a gourmet dinner with 119 hosts. Toastmaster Louis B. Wright pointed out the moral in his witty and ironical introduction of King Alfred, who then responded with remarks "well adapted to the occasion."

At 8:30 on Tuesday evening an impressive audience gathered in Sheraton Hall for the general meeting of the Association. The prize awards at the be-

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ginning of the meeting indicated that the profession had passed a biennium of unusual activity and high quality in publication. Eight persons shared in the honors distributed in this even-numbered year. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize for a work in the field of European history went to Archibald S. Foord for *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714–1830*. For the second year in succession the Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize in international history since 1895 found two volumes worthy of the distinction and awarded the prize jointly to Ivo Lederer for *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference* and Harold I. Nelson for *Land and Power*. The Watumull Prize for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States also resulted in a tie for two scholars: Charles Drekmeier for *Kingship and Community in India* and Charles Heimsath for *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*. Continuing the trend toward doubles with a slightly different accent, the John H. Dunning Committee awarded this prize for a monograph in American history to John and LaWanda Cox, joint authors of *Politics, Principle, and Prejudice, 1865–1866*. The Albert J. Beveridge Prize of fifteen hundred dollars and publication went to Linda G. DePauw for her doctoral dissertation, "The Eleventh Pillar: New York State and the Federal Constitution," submitted at the Johns Hopkins University.

After this auspicious beginning of the general meeting, the Executive Secretary, Louis B. Wright, introduced Julian P. Boyd, who read his presidential address, "A Modest Proposal to Meet an Urgent Need" (the full text of which is in the January 1965 issue of the *Review*). Audience acclaim indicated unanimous agreement of the membership in the proposal.

The Program Committee early noted a trend over the past few years to maintain at parity the sessions on the last day of the meeting. By design the format of Wednesday, December 30, resembled that of the first two days in distribution of sessions among fields and inclusion of topics of broad interest.

Morning and afternoon, seven sessions dealt with European themes: "The Roots of Italian Fascism" (joint session with the Society for Italian Historical Studies), "The Roman Catholic Church in the English-Speaking World," "Constitutional Crisis in Modern Spain," "1905 in the Perspective of 1917: The Role of Russian Social Democrats," "The Church and Medieval Mediterranean Expansion," "Overseas Expansion of England," and "Nineteenth-Century Imperial Policy" (joint session with the Conference on British Studies). A session, "The Spanish Colonial Economy in the Eighteenth Century," bridged European and Latin American studies. Two Asian sessions were devoted to "Reform in the Ottoman Empire" and "Perspectives on Medieval Eurasia" (joint session with the Conference on Asian History). Six panels comprised papers chiefly in United States history: "Slavery as a System of Labor: Some Reconsiderations" (joint session with the Labor Historians), "Clio and Conservation," "Words versus Things in American Studies" (joint session with the American Studies Association), "Approaches to American Social History," "Isolationism, Collective Security, and the League of Nations" (joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association), and "Beyond the Melting Pot: Irish and Jewish Separateness in American Society" (joint session with the American Jewish Historical Society and the American Committee for Irish Studies). The joint session with the American Military Institute, "Technology and Strategy in the First World

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War," commemorated a fiftieth anniversary. The joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies featured a single paper intriguingly entitled "The Impossible Takes a Little Longer: The Role of History in the High School Curriculum." A group of three papers on another session of general interest, "Peace Research and the Historian," explored the possibilities of this theme. "The *Review* Reviewed" offered opportunities for "roughhouse" in exchanges between a panel of experts and the participating audience in discussing problems built into the Association's quarterly journal. The chairman reported an orderly session with "very few barbs" in the transactions.

At the end of the whole enterprise the Program Committee finds that it has accumulated a host of obligations. During the planning stages the committee benefitted from the advice and assistance of W. Stull Holt, then Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review,* and of Walter Rundell, Jr., Assistant Executive Secretary. Jean Joughin, Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, cooperated in countless ways to ensure smooth running of the program. Besides providing the major services of registration, exhibits, public relations, space allocation, and public-address facilities, she found time to produce upon request extraordinary properties, including a concert grand piano, for special sessions. Other superlative touches—coffee at registration and water coolers in session rooms—carried the local arrangements to a perfection that will tax her successors. Sixty session chairmen gave the fullest assistance in tidying up details before the program went to the printer's. Finally, to the most important group of all, the scholars who provided the informative and provocative papers, the committee expresses its obligation for their enterprise and fine spirit.

University of Maryland AUBREY C. LAND

The Year's Business, 1964

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1964

The past year has been a period of change, analysis, and appraisal by the officers of the American Historical Association.

As everyone knows, the Council last year voted to separate from the office of the Executive Secretary the duties of the Editor of the *American Historical Review.* The wisdom of that decision is evident. On September 1, Professor Henry Winkler of Rutgers University assumed the editorship of the *Review* and already has the responsibilities of the editorial office well in hand. His own report will give details of the operation of that office.

On September 1, Professor Stull Holt relinquished the dual tasks of the executive secretaryship and the editorship of the *Review,* and I agreed to look after the duties of the Executive Secretary's office on a part-time basis pending the search for a less temporary incumbent in that office.

The American Historical Association owes a great debt to Mr. Holt for the magnificent way that he managed the affairs of the Association during the period when he was both Executive Secretary and Editor. It was a matter of great regret

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to me, and to others having an intimate knowledge of the Association's affairs, that he could not continue as Executive Secretary until a permanent appointment could be made. My work has been infinitely easier because of the skill with which Mr. Holt managed the office during his tenure.

The membership of the Association should be aware of the great load of responsibility carried by its Treasurer, Dean Elmer Kayser, who for years, without financial compensation of any kind, looked after an infinite amount of detail that would properly fall to the duty of a business manager in other organizations. The Council, to ease its conscience somewhat, has insisted that Mr. Kayser take a very modest honorarium, but that does not compensate him for the hours of labor that he expends on the Association's behalf. His experience, knowledge, and wisdom have been of enormous value to the other officers in the routine operation of the Association's headquarters. I should like to pay personal tribute to Mr. Kayser's unfailing helpfulness beyond any reasonable call of duty.

As members of the Council are acutely aware, the American Historical Association has developed to a point where we need a fresh appraisal of the obligations resting upon the central office in Washington, and in particular upon the Executive Secretary. As Mr. Holt pointed out in his report last year, the Association now needs to find an Executive Secretary who can shoulder new responsibilities and duties that promise to increase enormously in the next few years. For example, it is going to be almost a full-time job to maintain contact with governmental agencies involved in the advancement of education on various levels. The Executive Secretary must be a scholar who can command respect, but he must also be a man of experience, tact, imagination, and wisdom, with a sense of the statesmanship that the leader of the historical profession will require in the years ahead.

As all of us realize who have had anything to do with education, or with the government and the various services, military and otherwise, the historian occupies a more important place than he has ever held in this country. In Washington he is certainly one of the most ubiquitous species of scholars who find this a congenial habitat. Indeed, I wish some diligent graduate student would write a thesis on "The Ecology of Historians in the Washington Area." Such a treatise would be revealing—and this revelation might be useful in more ways than one.

During my own tenure of office, it will be my function to try to analyze the duties, existing and potential, of the Executive Secretary and to make recommendations to the Council that may result from that study. During the next decade, the opportunities for an imaginative Executive Secretary to demonstrate intellectual leadership will be greater than they have ever been. For an Executive Secretary to have time to exert any genuine influence upon and for the profession, and to use his mind toward that end, the office must be freed of much of the busywork with which it is now cluttered. That ought to be the first obligation of a permanent Secretary.

The headquarters of the professional body of historians ought to be in a building with adequate working space for its staff and with a fireproof room for its records. At present we occupy two old residences on A Street, S.E., that, because of cost, could not be properly converted to serve the purposes of the Association. This year we have done a little repainting and added some new lighting

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fixtures that provide sufficient illumination to let the typist in my office see her keyboard without damaging her eyes. Some of the members of the editorial staff, however, are still working in semidarkness. The antique wiring of this old house makes me shudder every time I hear a fire engine, but perhaps we can finesse this hazard until such time as we have safer quarters.

The most important action taken by the Association during the past year was the beginning of a movement to procure sufficient funds to establish a center for historical research in Washington, a center that would provide not only adequate space for the Association's headquarters, but would fill a desperate need for a physical locale where scholars temporarily domiciled in Washington carrying on research in any of the historical disciplines could have a place of gathering and a place of social contact. A preliminary committee has made an interim report to the Council on the feasibility of this plan, and the President of the Association will speak about this problem in his address tonight. In this report I must not anticipate remarks that the President may make, but I do want to insist upon the dire necessity of the center that he will be recommending. The Council will be asked to create a commission to implement the program that will be outlined.

No report of the Executive Secretary would be complete without paying tribute to the work that Walter Rundell is doing in directing the Service Center for Teachers of History. The amount of work that he devotes to the operation of this center is prodigious, and, in addition, he manages to find time to be of immense help as Assistant Executive Secretary. Possessed of an excellent memory, he is a sort of walking information center about what has been done at committees, conferences, and meetings that he has attended. The Association has reason to be grateful to him for dedicated and skillful service in a variety of areas.

The Service Center promises to have extended utility during the next few years as history resumes its significance in secondary education. If this statement needs amplification, let me say that indications point to a new realization in secondary education of the necessity of valid history as opposed to the kind of "social study" rubbish that has dominated too many schools for the last two decades. The American Historical Association has a serious obligation to do more to influence the quality of history taught in the secondary schools. The Service Center is making a genuine contribution of great value already. The Association as a whole, however, must concern itself with this problem.

In conclusion, let me say that serving as Executive Secretary, even as a part-time, hit-and-run sort of Secretary, has been an enlightening experience for me. For one thing, I am astonished at the enormous labor that my predecessors have had to expend in this office. For another, I am conscious as never before of the enormous opportunities that lie before an imaginative Executive Secretary. One might wish for two lives if only to see the developments in history during the decades ahead.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *Executive Secretary*

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1964

When I took over the managing editorship of the *Review* on September 1 of this year, I found myself moving into a well-organized, solidly professional under-

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taking. The *Review*'s staff is efficient, indeed efficient enough to paper over much of the inexperience of a neophyte editor, who was helped beyond measure, in learning his new job, by the wise and patient instruction of his predecessor. I should like this record to include the expression of gratitude that I have already tried to convey to Stull Holt on a more personal level.

Volume LXIX of the *Review* contained 16 articles and 5 Notes and Suggestions, selected from among 204 manuscripts submitted for consideration. The articles included 2 of a general nature, 1 on historiography, 6 on modern European history, 1 on African history, 4 on United States history, and 1 on ancient history, in addition to Crane Brinton's presidential address. Among the Notes and Suggestions were 2 of a general character, 1 on modern European history, and 2 on United States history.

This listing of contributions points up a circumstance—I consider it a problem—of which I have become more aware in the four brief months of my tenure. Of the articles listed not one is in medieval history, only one is in ancient history, and none is in any of the fields of Asiatic history. In its articles the *Review* is for the most part a journal of American and modern European history. Clearly, this is not because its editors have wished to exclude other areas, but because almost nothing seems to be submitted to the *Review* by scholars working on ancient or medieval subjects or in Asiatic or African studies, whether ancient, medieval, or modern. Surely practitioners in these fields have much to say that is highly scholarly and at the same time of "general" interest to the profession. Surely the *Review* is the place in which at least some of it should be said.

The pressure for space in the book review section is reaching critical proportions. Last year 786 reviews were published, most of them too short for the really probing evaluation all of us would welcome. Yet to squeeze the number down to 786 required not only that reviews be rigorously limited in length, but that many books be neglected that might well have been noticed. It may be that the Association, through the appropriate channels, should seriously consider the expansion of the *Review*, perhaps with a fifth issue, perhaps with a supplement to each year's volume. It is apparent that the present quarterly numbers have reached their limit in pages. But if we are to have long, reflective, sometimes comparative reviews and review articles, to say nothing of greater coverage and a few more articles annually, then the growth of our profession may well have to be paralleled by a continued physical growth of our *Review*. The Board of Editors, which is now considering the problem, would welcome comments and suggestions from members of the Association. Perhaps within the next year it may be possible to make more concrete recommendations for consideration by the Council.

One more word: in the October issue, Stull Holt pointed out that, in contrast to the case of book reviews (which get shorter and shorter to avoid postponing their appearance unconscionably), there is no huge backlog of articles accepted and yellowing in a file before finally being published. An article accepted as late as December might very well appear in the April issue; almost certainly it would be published by the July issue. Like my predecessors, I have found that scholars who are asked to evaluate manuscripts respond promptly and give their advice with scrupulous care. Members of the Board of Editors, in particular, have cooperated far beyond the reasonable call of duty as a new editor has depended

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very heavily upon them in his first few months. Indications are that we shall receive an increasing number of manuscripts—if only because of the increased numbers of historians—in the months ahead. It may be that I shall have to propose still another addition to the Board of Editors to ease the demands on present members in the popular fields. But whatever the details of organization, I can promise prospective contributors that manuscripts will continue to be read carefully and expeditiously, for this serves the interests of the profession as a whole as well as those of the individual scholar who submits a manuscript. Beyond this I will only say that I recognize my responsibility and will take it seriously. Is it too much to add the hope that I will continue to enjoy the work as I have in these first few months?

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C. DECEMBER 27, 1964, 9:30 A.M.

Present at the meeting were: Julian P. Boyd, President; Frederic C. Lane, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Louis B. Wright, Executive Secretary; Councilors Robert F. Byrnes, John W. Caughey, Richard Hofstadter, Walter Johnson, Charles Mullett; former Presidents Samuel Flagg Bemis, Carl Bridenbaugh, Crane Brinton, and Bernadotte E. Schmitt. John S. Galbraith, President of the Pacific Coast Branch, Walter Rundell, Jr., Assistant Executive Secretary, Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *Review,* and W. Stull Holt were also present.

The minutes of the December 1963 meeting of the Council, as printed in the April 1964 *Review,* were approved without reading.

The report of the Executive Secretary was deferred to the Business Meeting, and the reports of the Managing Editor of the *Review* and the Treasurer were distributed prior to the Council meeting and were also deferred to the Business Meeting.

The Treasurer and the Executive Secretary discussed the proposed revision of the 1964–1965 budget and the proposed budget for 1965–1966. With regard to the Treasurer's honorarium, Mr. Wright pointed out that, when he became Treasurer, Mr. Kayser received no compensation even though his work included more than the duties of a treasurer and consumed a considerable amount of time and that his present honorarium and the proposed increase for the next fiscal year are in recognition of his service to the Association. The proposed budget also reflects increased expenses anticipated because the next Annual Meeting will be held in San Francisco, the new format of the *Newsletter,* increasing office expenses, and funds for the Council's committee that is looking for a permanent Executive Secretary.

Mr. Johnson wanted to know how well the Association is reaching secondary-school teachers. Mr. Kayser pointed to the rapidly increasing number of student members, many of whom, hopefully, will become regular members. Mr. Johnson

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stated that we are not carrying out our responsibilities to secondary-school teachers as are geographers and others, and, as a result, history may continue to get squeezed. He suggested that the Association use its own resources in carrying out its responsibilities and show what it can do before asking for help from foundations. This would encourage foundations to take a greater interest in the Association.

Mr. Kayser reported on the necessary improvements being made in the Association's offices. The Executive Committee had previously allocated $3,500, but, additional funds being needed to complete the work properly, Mr. Kayser moved that the Council appropriate $2,000 for necessary renovations in excess of the budget. It was approved. Mr. Kayser discussed the work of the Treasurer, which at the present time includes work that should be the responsibility of a business manager. He offered the following resolutions which were approved: that the power of countersigning checks now held by the bookkeeper be withdrawn; that the power of countersigning checks in the absence of the Treasurer or the Executive Secretary be given to the Assistant Executive Secretary and that his title be changed to Assistant Executive Secretary-Treasurer; and that because it is desirable to put off any changes until a permanent Executive Secretary has been appointed, that the tenure of Mr. Clinton Douglas, the bookkeeper, who will reach retirement age next spring, be extended until September 30, 1966. The Treasurer's report and proposed budgets were approved.

The 1965 Annual Meeting will be held at the Hilton Hotel, San Francisco, California. The Program Chairman is Brainerd Dyer of the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Local Arrangements Chairman is Gerald T. White of San Francisco State College. The 1966 meeting will be held at the Hilton Hotel, New York City. The Modern Language Association's request for an exchange of hotels in 1966 was rejected. A joint meeting of the two associations, as suggested by the MLA, was also rejected as impractical because of the size of the two associations. The Council, however, indicated its appreciation of the invitation from the MLA to hold a joint session. It was agreed that the selection of the Local Arrangements and Program Chairmen for the 1966 meeting should be the responsibility of the Executive Secretary. The 1967 meeting will be at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, and in 1968 at the Conrad Hilton, Chicago, Illinois. The 1969 meeting will be held in Washington, but no arrangements have been made.

In discussing the problems of the executive secretaryship, Mr. Wright paid tribute to Mr. Holt's contribution as interim Executive Secretary. He recognizes, as did Mr. Holt, that needed internal reforms and reorganization must wait for a permanent Executive Secretary. Mr. Wright stated that his contribution would be a report on the present situation with specific recommendations. He suggested that while the Council is looking for a permanent Executive Secretary it should also be considering his responsibilities and a suitable staff needed to carry out the increasing responsibilities of the office.

Mr. Wright moved that the Association provide major medical insurance for the Association's staff; Mr. Kayser stated that this would cost about six hundred dollars a year. The motion was approved.

The new format of the *Newsletter* and its purposes were discussed. To make

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it more useful and easier to keep, it will be printed in booklet form. Its approach will be different from that of the *Review;* it will be more informal and will contain some editorials. The *Newsletter* is important because it informs the membership five times a year of professional news and Professional Register notices. Mr. Boyd noted that the *Newsletter* could be useful in reaching secondary-school teachers. In reply to Mr. Caughey's question of why the *Newsletter* was not a part of the *Review* Mr. Winkler stated that it would make the *Review* too large (forcing a change of binding and increasing the cost). Mr. Rundell pointed out that the *Newsletter* was better suited than the *Review* to inform the membership about vacancies listed in the Professional Register.

In discussing the need for an Editorial Advisory Board for the Service Center, Mr. Rundell pointed out that there had been no such board to read manuscripts to determine their value to secondary-school teachers and their balance of presentation. Mr. Bridenbaugh moved that a committee consisting of Joseph R. Strayer as chairman, W. Stull Holt, and Edward C. Kirkland be appointed to serve as an editorial board and that this committee should be set up by the Committee on Committees as a standing committee for the purposes designated. The motion was approved. Mr. Bemis commented that the Service Center pamphlets were a parade of erudition that are more helpful to a college instructor planning a course than to a high school teacher; Mr. Byrnes agreed.

The report of the Committee on Committees was presented to the Council. It was accepted with the recommendation that the first sentence of the second paragraph be changed to read that *all* committee members shall be appointed for a specific length of time.

For the regular and special committees of the Association, the Council approved nominations for new members made by the Committee on Committees:

Committee on Ancient History.—Chester Starr, University of Illinois, chairman; Paul Alexander, University of Michigan; T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College.

Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.—Lester Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, chairman;* John R. Alden, Duke University; Whitfield Bell, American Philosophical Society;* Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Lyman H. Butterfield, The Adams Papers; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission;* Alfred A. Knopf, New York City; William J. Van Schreeven, Archivist of Virginia;* Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University.

Committee on Committees.—Donald Emerson, University of Washington; Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College.

Committee on Graduate Work in History.—Robert H. Ferrell, Indiana University, chairman; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Richard Hofstadter, Columbia University; Charles Sellers, University of California (Berkeley); John Snell, Tulane University; Richard J. Storr, University of Chicago.

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Kenneth Stampp, University of California (Berkeley), chairman; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jeffer-

* New member this year.

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son;* Richard Current, University of Wisconsin; Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University;* Frank Vandiver, Rice University.

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Charles Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Arthur Bestor, University of Washington; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College; Richard Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; Jeannette Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Washington, D. C.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Oscar Handlin, Harvard University, chairman; Howard Cline, Library of Congress; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Val R. Lorwin, University of Oregon; George Mosse, University of Wisconsin; Franklin Scott, Northwestern University.

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Arthur Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Raymond Grew, University of Michigan; Waldo Leland, Washington, D. C.; Richard Pipes, Harvard University; John Rath, Rice University; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Boyd C. Shafer, Macalester College; Eugen Weber, University of California (Los Angeles).

Committee on the Professional Register.—Walter Rundell, Jr., American Historical Association, chairman; Dean Albertson, Brooklyn College; Harold Davis, American University; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University; Rayford Logan, Howard University.

Committee on Research Needs.—Roderic Davison, George Washington University; David Donald, Johns Hopkins University; Hunter Dupree, University of California (Berkeley); Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa; John Higham, University of Michigan; Earl Pritchard, University of Arizona.

Committee on Scholarly Historical Resources.—Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University, chairman; Howard Cline, Library of Congress; David Dowd, University of Florida; Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt University; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; Melville J. Ruggles, Council on Library Resources; James E. Skipper, Association of Research Libraries; John Snell, Tulane University; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota.

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Robert Coon, Lakewood, Colorado; Margareta Faissler, Baltimore, Maryland; Frank Freidel, Harvard University; Stanley Idzerda, Michigan State University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Jim Pearson, University of Texas; Wilson Smith, University of California (Davis); L. S. Stavrianos, Northwestern University.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Theodore Hamerow, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Joel Colton, Duke University;* Felix Gilbert, Institute for Advanced Study.*

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Victor Mamatey, Florida State University, chairman; Charles Delzell, Vanderbilt University; Piotr Wandycz, Indiana University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Richard Morse, Yale University, chairman; Alexander DeConde, University of California (Santa Barbara);

* New member this year.

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David Shannon, University of Wisconsin; Lawrence W. Towner, Newberry Library.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University; Don Fehrenbacher, Stanford University.

*Committee on the Clarence H. Haring Prize.***—Lewis Hanke, Columbia University, chairman; Thomas McGann, University of Texas; James R. Scobie, University of California (Berkeley).

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Wilmington, Delaware; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Paul Murphy, University of Minnesota; Joseph H. Smith, Columbia University.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Robert J. Walcott, College of Wooster, chairman; Jack Hexter, Yale University; Wallace MacCaffrey, Haverford College; R. K. Webb, Columbia University; David Willson, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Stephen N. Hay, Harvard University, chairman; Norman Palmer, University of Pennsylvania;* Burton Stein, University of Minnesota.

Three committees appointed jointly by other historical associations and the American Historical Association are:

Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation.—Mason Wade, University of Rochester, US chairman; John Galbraith, University of California (San Diego); Robin Winks, Yale University; R. A. Preston, Royal Military College, Canadian chairman; G. M. Craig, University of Toronto; C. P. Stacey, University of Toronto.

The Historical Association (Britain) and American Historical Association Committee on National Bias in Textbooks.—E. H. Dance, G. R. Potter, Reginald F. Treharne (British members), and Ray A. Billington, Richard McCormick, Caroline Robbins (United States members).

Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association Committee on Censorship in Textbooks.—Boyd C. Shafer, Macalester College, chairman; W. D. Aeschbacher, Mississippi Valley Historical Association; Ray A. Billington, Huntington Library; Vernon Carstensen, University of Washington; John Caughey, University of California (Los Angeles); Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; John E. Dickey, Valley Station, Kentucky; John Hope Franklin, University of Chicago; Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; R. W. Patrick, University of Florida.

The Executive Secretary is ex officio member of all but the prize committees.

Mr. Wright requested that the Council establish guidelines for the Association to follow in asking foundations for travel grants. He pointed out that constant requests to foundations for numerous small grants might interfere with

* New member this year.
** New committee this year.

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applications for large grants for important projects, and he wanted to know how far the Secretary should go in approaching foundations. Mr. Wright moved that the Council go on record that no foundation be approached for any purpose without the approval of the Executive Committee of the Council. The motion was approved. Mr. Bridenbaugh suggested that it be noted in the *Newsletter* that members of the Association should not apply to the Association for assistance in obtaining travel grants unless they will be serving as official representatives of the Association.

On the recommendation of Mr. Winkler, the Council appointed Henry May to the Board of Editors of the *Review* to replace Max Savelle whose term has expired. Mr. Winkler explained the need for a fifth issue of the *Review*. A different, more expensive method of binding would have to be used if the number of pages in the *Review* should increase, and it would be harder to handle. There is an immediate need for more space to increase the coverage of books in history; an inadequate, haphazard job is being done with regard to non-American and non-European history. Bibliographic studies are needed. More space is necessary for reflective reviews of major works. If the fifth issue were sufficiently attractive, publishers would be willing to advertise in it. Mr. Caughey suggested that the fifth issue should come out in the fall when there would be more books to be advertised. Mr. Bridenbaugh moved that the Editor should consult with the Board of Editors about a fifth issue of the *Review*—cost, staff, and so forth—and should make a report to the Executive Committee which could approve or disapprove the recommendation of the Editor.

Mr. Kayser presented the following resolution which the Council voted to include in its minutes.

The Council of the American Historical Association records its appreciation of the distinguished services of W. Stull Holt as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* during the year 1963–1964.

Graciously dedicating a year out of a busy academic life to the service of the Association, in that brief tenure he added appreciably to the stature of the Executive Secretary's office and maintained and advanced the high scholarly standards of the *American Historical Review*. With a happy combination of great professional competence, administrative skill, and human understanding, he conducted the business of the organization with efficiency, improved many of the procedures of the office, inspired a new *esprit de corps* among the members of the staff, and represented the Association to the profession and to the academic world with dignity and grace.

After appropriate remarks Mr. Boyd presented to Mr. Holt a gift from the Council.

Mr. Galbraith gave a report from the Pacific Coast Branch, which was deferred for reading to the Business Meeting. He reported that the Branch's total membership was 1,500 and that 650 were present at the annual meeting in August. The 1965 meeting will be held at the same time as the Association's Annual Meeting. Mr. Lane moved that the Executive Secretary arrange, if possible, to have the 1965 program for the Pacific Coast Branch mailed with the 1965 program for the Association. This was approved. At the request of the Pacific Coast Branch, Mr. Bridenbaugh moved that the Council allocate five hundred dollars from the Matteson Fund for the preparation of the thirty-five-year index of the *Pacific Historical Review*. It was approved.

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The Council rejected the suggestion of the Committee on Honorary Members to pay the travel expenses of one honorary member to the Annual Meeting each year. The Council approved the nomination of Sir George Clark as an honorary member.

When considering requests for changes in the procedures of the Adams and Beveridge Prize Committees, the Council suggested that the Committee on Committees might prepare a booklet that would codify the procedures and problems of the prizes.

The Council decided that the Nominating Committee should not change its meeting date from May to September and that an absent member could carry out his duties by mail.

Mr. Rundell presented Warren Kuehl's application for a $3,400 grant from the Matteson Fund as a subsidy for the publication of a list of doctoral dissertations. The Council did not approve the grant of $3,400, but authorized the Executive Secretary to discuss with the University of Kentucky Press the problems concerned with the publication of this list.

Mr. Kayser raised the question of prizes offered by the American Historical Association with funds that are not capitalized but are given from time to time by a donor. The Council voted that the Executive Secretary should negotiate with such donors in an effort to get them to capitalize their prize funds at a minimum of five thousand dollars.

After considerable discussion about the proposed copyright law, it was agreed that the best procedure to follow would be to have several distinguished members of the Association testify at the committee hearings concerning the parts of the bill that are detrimental to historical research.

The statement on academic freedom that the National Council for the Social Studies has approved was also approved by the Council for presentation at the Business Meeting.

Mr. Boyd requested that William J. Van Schreeven, Archivist of Virginia, be appointed to the Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.

Mr. Wright advised the Council of a letter from Wayne Grover, Archivist of the United States, concerning the accessibility of government documents.

Lyman Butterfield was reappointed as a member of the National Historical Publications Commission, and George Pierson was reappointed as a delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies. William O. Aydelotte was appointed to serve as a director of the Social Science Research Council for the 1965–1967 term, and Samuel P. Hays was appointed to serve as director for the 1967–1969 term.

The Council took no action on George F. Howe's suggestion that the Council consider the publication of a new edition of the *Guide to Historical Literature*.

Mr. Bridenbaugh objected to a contract made by the Association with the Macmillan Company for the publication of presidential addresses as they were printed in the *Review*. He doubted the merit of the proposed book. The Council voted to cancel the contract.

The Executive Committee of the Council for 1965 will consist of Frederic C. Lane, chairman, Roy F. Nichols, Julian P. Boyd, Elmer Louis Kayser, Robert F.

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Byrnes, Walter Johnson, Louis B. Wright, and Henry R. Winkler. The Finance Committee is to consist of Frederic C. Lane, Elmer Louis Kayser, and Louis B. Wright.

On the motion of Mr. Mullett, the Council voted to approve in principle the adoption of the report presented by the Committee on the National Center for Historical Research. Mr. Wright moved that the Council appoint a steering committee composed of the Executive Committee of the Council, the three immediate past Presidents (Boyd, Brinton, Bridenbaugh), the Treasurer, and the Executive Secretary who would appoint a commission responsible for carrying out the plans formulated by the committee. The Executive Secretary will call a meeting of the steering committee, and the committee will elect its chairman. The motion was approved.

In raising the question of a permanent Executive Secretary, Mr. Boyd stressed the importance of the selection of an Executive Secretary on the level of a college or university president. Mr. Wright accepted the part-time appointment for only one year, that is, until September 1965. The Council approved Mr. Mullett's motion that a committee consisting of Frederic C. Lane, chairman, W. Stull Holt, Crane Brinton, and the pro tem Executive Secretary be appointed and funds be made available for the purpose of finding a permanent Executive Secretary.

As the newest member of the Council present, Mr. Hofstadter was appointed to present the Council's resolutions to the Business Meeting.

Mr. Bemis moved, and it was approved, that the Council express its gratitude for the work of the Executive Secretary, the Assistant Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, and the staff of the Association.

The meeting adjourned at 4:25 p.m.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C. DECEMBER 29, 1964, 4:30 P.M.

President Julian P. Boyd called the meeting to order with approximately 120 members present. The minutes of the last meeting were omitted.

Professor Richard Hofstadter presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Chairman of the Program Committee and his associates be heartily thanked by this Association for their splendid efforts, which have given us an unusually rich and rewarding program.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Association be conveyed to the Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and to her loyal staff of volunteer workers, for their eminently successful achievements in attending to the comfort and convenience of its members.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Hofstadter then presented the following Statement on Academic Freedom,

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which has been adopted by the National Council for the Social Studies, with the recommendation of the Council that it be passed.

WHEREAS, There are individuals and groups in our society who periodically attack teachers of history and the social studies, textbooks, and other teaching materials on the grounds they are subversive of the American way of life, and

WHEREAS, Attacks frequently take the form of irresponsible and malicious charges injurious to the reputation of teachers and authors of teaching materials, and

WHEREAS, Attacks tend to obstruct effective instruction, especially in controversial areas where all points of view call for discussion and analysis, and

WHEREAS, Those who initiate and support unwarranted and irresponsible attacks are motivated generally by the determination to have their own particular point of view accepted in the classroom, to the exclusion of all others, and

WHEREAS, Unfounded attacks have led to the dismissal of competent teachers and the removal of useful teaching materials from the classroom,

Therefore, Be It *Resolved* by the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies

1. That intelligent and reasoned loyalty to the nation, no less than the requirements of honesty and sound scholarship, demand that teachers and authors of textbooks and other teaching materials should strive to present a truthful picture of the past and the present, with due regard to the maturity levels of the students; and

2. That criticism of teachers, textbooks, and teaching materials should be based not upon grounds that reflect the point of view of any particular interest group, but only on the grounds of accuracy and scholarship as tested by consideration of the evidence; and

3. That the development in students of a scientific temper in history and the related social studies, of a spirit of critical inquiry accompanied by a necessity of confronting unpleasant facts, are far more important objectives than the teaching of special interpretations of particular events; and

4. That attempts by any individual or groups to impose their views on teachers and students as the only road to the truth and the only measure of loyalty are hostile to that great goal of American education which aims to produce independent and thoughtful men and women who are responsible and informed citizens.

To This End, Be It Further *Resolved:*

5. That the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies encourage the formation of Academic Freedom Committees in the local, regional, and state councils of the National Council for the Social Studies with a view to defending teachers and students against capricious, arbitrary, and unreasonable attacks.

This statement was unanimously adopted.

The Executive Secretary, the Managing Editor of the *Review,* and the Treasurer presented their reports, which will be found in the *Annual Report.* All accounts have been subjected to audit by Main, Lafrentz and Company whose report is on file at the Association's office, as well as the report of the Fiduciary Trust Company, for viewing by anyone interested. The Treasurer's report was accepted without dissent.

Professor John Tate Lanning of Duke University, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported for the committee. For the officers of the Association the

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following were nominated for 1965: President, Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University; Vice-President, Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. Upon motion and instruction the Executive Secretary cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected. Elected by the mail ballot were Professors Carl E. Schorske (University of California, Berkeley) and John K. Fairbank (Harvard University) for the Council, and for the Nominating Committee Professors Charles Gibson (State University of Iowa), Hans W. Gatzke (Yale University), and David M. Potter (Stanford University).

The Executive Secretary reported on actions taken by the Council at its meeting on December 27. Minutes of the meeting will be found in the *Annual Report.*

The Executive Secretary presented for adoption the constitutional amendment as printed in the October 1964 *Newsletter:* "The amended portion of Article IV, Section 4 would read: 'It [the Nominating Committee] shall present to this meeting [the Annual Business Meeting] orally any other nominations for these offices petitioned for to the Chairman of the Committee by December 7th and supported by the names of 200 voting members of the Association.' Presently the sentence reads: 'It shall present to this meeting orally any other nominations for these offices petitioned for to the Chairman of the Committee at least one day before the Business Meeting and supported by the names of 20 voting members of the Association.'" After the discussion of several questions raised from the floor, the amendment was approved by a vote of sixty-seven to forty-nine.

Professor John L. Snell of Tulane University moved that the following resolution be adopted:

> The American Historical Association acknowledges the excellent accomplishments in the humanities and the arts that have been made in the United States since World War II. But it is also acutely aware of the material handicaps that humanists have faced and the many opportunities for more significant research and improved teaching that are lost to historians and other humanists because of inadequate financial support and organization in the service of the humanities. The Association takes note of the recommendations made in 1964 by the National Commission on the Humanities and emphatically declares its support and wishes early success for the efforts now being made, in and outside the Congress, to create a National Humanities Foundation.

Professor Snell also moved that this resolution be transmitted by January 4, 1965, to Representative William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania and Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, authors of bills to create a National Humanities Foundation; to the appropriate officials of the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States, and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa; and to such other organizations and individuals as may seem desirable to support efforts to create a National Humanities Foundation.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Professor Beatrice Hyslop proposed, in keeping with tradition, a resolution in honor of Carlton Hayes, a past President of the Association, who died in 1964. The motion was unanimously adopted.

The President called upon Professor Lawrence Gipson to move that the meeting be adjourned (5:25 p.m.).

LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *Executive Secretary*

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American Historical Association

Paul Ward, president of Sarah Lawrence College, has been appointed Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, effective September 1, 1965.

Ward received his bachelor's degree at Amherst College and his doctorate from Harvard University. He served in the State Department for two years, and from 1946 to 1948 he was engaged in educational work in China and served as treasurer of Huachung University. He then served as head of the history department at the Carnegie Institute of Technology until he was named president of Sarah Lawrence College in 1960.

Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received as a gift from Mrs. Eleanore von Eltz Lenroot and Miss Katharine F. Lenroot the papers of Irvine L. Lenroot (1869–1949), who served as United States representative and senator from Wisconsin from 1909 to 1927. The papers number about 3,500 pieces and consist of family and general correspondence, speeches and articles, and other biographical material. Although they cover the years 1890–1964 as a whole, a large part of the material is dated prior to 1928 and pertains to Lenroot's political career.

From the office of the late Congressman Clarence Cannon has come a group of journals of the Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives. The journals, which cover most of the period 1916–1957, are accompanied by related items such as clippings, caucus notices, and memorandums of rules of procedure.

Noncurrent records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, relating to the years 1913–1960, have been given to the Library by vote of the association's board of directors. Records dated prior to 1935 may be consulted as soon as this extensive body of material has been organized; papers of more recent date may be examined only by special permission, which should be sought through the Chief of the Manuscript Division. Arthur Spingarn, vice-president of the NAACP from 1911 to 1940 and its president since that time, has presented to the Library those of his papers that pertain to the association. The Spingarn papers, which date from about 1913 to 1963, will, when organized, be available to scholars on terms similar to those governing access to the NAACP records.

The records of the Atlantic Union Committee, an independent committee of Federal Union, Inc., organized by Justice Owen J. Roberts in 1949, have been given to the Library by Clarence K. Streit. The fourteen thousand items, dated 1943–1962, include correspondence, administrative office files, memorandums, and financial records. Of particular interest are six containers of "Congress Comment" (1949–1952) on the resolution to create an Atlantic Union with the United States as a member.

The Women's Joint Congressional Committee has presented its records for the years 1921–1962. The correspondence, minutes, membership lists, and financial records that compose the approximately six thousand documents reflect the interest of the organizations comprising the committee in securing passage of child labor, women's suffrage, pure food and drugs, and social security legislation.

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The papers of a father and son—Frederic Ives (1856–1937), notable inventor in the fields of color photography and photoengraving, and Herbert Ives (1882–1953), investigator of optical phenomena and pioneer in work that ultimately led to practical television—have been transferred to the Library by the Smithsonian Institution. The material consists of appointment and work diaries (1871–1931), technical notes and notebooks, a small group of correspondence, scrapbooks, and reprints of scientific writings. The papers of chemical engineer Robert E. Wilson, who was chairman of the board of Standard Oil of Indiana and a member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, have been given to the Library by Mrs. Wilson. Dated 1926–1964, the papers consist primarily of Wilson's speeches and articles on scientific topics and on the role of business in the nation's life. Physicist George Gamow has presented his papers, which comprise correspondence, notebooks, drawings, and the manuscripts of many of his books, including that of *Basic Theories of Modern Physics* (1965).

The papers of Dr. Peter Marshall, distinguished minister of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C., and chaplain of the United States Senate at the time of his death in 1949, have been deposited in the Library by Mrs. Catherine Marshall LeSourd. Included are manuscript sermons, correspondence, notes for sermons and articles, and manuscript material relating to Catherine Marshall's books.

A first installment of the papers of journalist and publisher John Callan O'Laughlin has been presented by Mrs. Dorothy Brown, former publisher of the *Army-Navy-Air Force Journal*. The gift includes O'Laughlin's correspondence during the 1930's, largely with Herbert Hoover. The O'Laughlin Papers may be consulted for the present only with special permission.

Clifton Fadiman has given a first installment of his papers—correspondence, book reviews, and the manuscripts, proofs, and related materials for seven books, including his well-known *Party of One*—to the Library. American novelist William Styron has deposited the manuscripts of his novels and of a number of articles and reviews. For the novels, *Lie Down in Darkness* (1951), *The Long March* (1952), and *Set This House on Fire* (1960), there exist autograph manuscripts, with typed copies and galley proofs. Attorney Louis Nizer has presented pencil and typewritten drafts of his book, *My Life in Court* (1961), originally titled "My Life in the Court Room."

Records of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, December 1963–November 1964, including investigative reports, hearings, exhibits, and correspondence; and records of Francis White, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs and the US representative at various international conferences, 1921–1933, are among recent National Archives accessions. Also recently acquired are the legislation file of the Legislative Division, Office of the Solicitor, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, pertaining to the Eighty-fifth Congress, 1957–1958; docket books and lists of the Bureau of Land Management and its predecessor, the General Land Office, concerning private land claims, from about 1810 to 1910; records of the Forest Service relating to the federal government's acquisition of land for national forest purposes, 1958–1963;

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and correspondence of the former Agricultural Adjustment Agency and of the Field Service Branch of the former Production and Marketing Administration, 1943–1947, documenting the agricultural stabilization and conservation programs inaugurated in 1933 by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Other recent accessions include records of the Dependents Claims Service of the Veterans Administration relating to claims for benefits based on service in the Indian wars, 1817–1898; records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations consisting of microfilm copies of correspondence, 1918–1943 (about 500 rolls), and microfilm copies of messages and dispatches received and sent by the Naval Communication Station, Washington, D. C., 1941–1963 (about 26,000 rolls); and the central file of the Board of Investigation and Research-Transportation containing information on the transportation industry, 1940–1944.

Among recently completed microfilm publications are the Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the States of Ohio (122 rolls) and Pennsylvania (136 rolls), and the Territories of Utah (1 roll) and Washington (1 roll). Also recently microfilmed are the Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served with United States Colored Troops (98 rolls) and the Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry concerning the Conduct of Major Marcus A. Reno at the Battle of the Little Big Horn River on June 25 and 26, 1876 (2 rolls). Also completed are Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the General Land Office, 1796–1889 (139 rolls), Special Files of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1807–1904 (85 rolls), Letters Sent by the Secretary of Agriculture, 1893–1929 (563 rolls), and Minutes of the Federal Open Market Committee, 1936–1960, and of Its Executive Committee, 1936–1955 (16 rolls).

The National Archives has recently published three preliminary inventories, Number 160, *Records of the Smaller War Plants Corporation,* Number 161, *Records of the Bureau of the Census,* and Number 162, *Records of the 1961 Inaugural Committee;* and Special List Number 20, *Papers of the United States Senate Relating to Presidential Nominations, 1789–1901.*

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has acquired the papers of Leland Olds (1890–1960), an economist specializing in the fields of public utilities and water resources, who was a former chairman of the Federal Power Commission and holder of numerous other posts in the government. The papers consist of correspondence, reports, statements before public bodies, speeches, drafts of articles, publications, a variety of technical studies, and materials on his early life and education. The papers are the gift of Miss Elsie Meyer, Washington, D. C., for many years his private secretary.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of Harry H. Vaughan, former military aide to President Truman, and of John T. Kohler, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Transcripts of oral history interviews with the following associates of President Truman have been completed and are now open for study: Mildred Dryden, Donald Hansen, Fred J. Lawton, Ted Marks, Walter Matscheck, Irving Perlmeter, John Steelman, James L. Sundquist, and Harry H. Vaughan.

At a meeting held on December 4, 1964, the National Historical Publications Commission, under its new congressional authority, voted modest grants to assist

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the following documentary publication projects: *The Papers of Henry Clay* (James F. Hopkins, editor) at the University of Kentucky; *The Papers of John C. Calhoun* (W. Edwin Hemphill, editor) at the South Carolina Archives Department; *The Papers of Andrew Johnson* (LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph Haskins, editors) at the University of Tennessee; *The Papers of Henry Laurens* (Philip M. Hamer, editor) at the National Archives and South Carolina Historical Society; *The Correspondence of James K. Polk* (Herbert Weaver, editor) at Vanderbilt University; and *The Papers of Daniel Webster* (Edward C. Lathem, editor) at Dartmouth College. It voted to defer grants to major new undertakings involving letterpress publication pending the results of a survey to be conducted by the commission's staff this winter among leading professors and other authorities in the field of American history as to priority needs in this area. Also, a resolution was adopted stating that the commission does not interpret its new congressional authority as authorizing it to make grants to institutions in support of a build-up of their historical manuscript collections, but rather to make grants in support of the publication of such sources and of information about them in order to make them more widely accessible.

The commission voted to emphasize a program of microfilming documentary sources of national significance. For the present, grants will be given to institutions with experience in microfilming and with holdings extensive enough to permit them to film a succession of their collections over several years. The initial grants for this microfilm program were voted to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and the Minnesota Historical Society.

From funds received in October from the Ford Foundation grant, the first allocations were made to support *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* at Princeton University and *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* at Columbia University. To implement commitments made to the Ford Foundation, the commission authorized the conduct of a survey throughout the United States into "the availability and use of primary source materials in the graduate teaching and study of history" and approved a two-year program for the training of editors, including an experiment in granting fellowships of one year each in advanced historical editing, the details of which will be announced soon.

The Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan recently acquired the papers of the Detroit Urban League (1917–1961), the Grand Rapids Urban League (1948–1961), and the Urban League of Greater Muskegon (1943–1961). Several small collections of manuscripts relating to the American (Polar Bear) Expedition to northern Russia in World War I have been acquired, and new materials are being added constantly.

The Edison Institute, Dearborn, Michigan, has received the Ford Archives, said to contain the largest concentration of important business documents in existence. The archives will become a separate division of the institute.

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International Historical Activities

The International Conference on Asian History took place from August 30 to September 5, 1964, at the University of Hong Kong.

Grants, Awards, Prizes

The Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame has received a grant from the National Science Foundation to continue microfilming manuscripts on the history of science at the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

The Samuel H. Kress Foundation has awarded St. Louis University a grant to create a representative color slide collection of the more important illuminated manuscripts from the fifth to the fifteenth century.

The Carnegie Institute of Technology has received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to help predominantly Negro colleges improve their teaching of American history.

Columbia University has received an anonymous gift to endow a chair in economic history in the name of Allan Nevins.

The Lutheran Historical Conference received an anonymous gift to initiate an expanded program of microfilming and publishing American Lutheran historical resources.

Among scholars awarded grants for postdoctoral research in the humanities and related social sciences by the American Council of Learned Societies are the following historians: Fredric L. Cheyette, Charles Garside, Jr., Samuel C. Kinser, Enno E. Kraehe, Edward Lurie, Francis C. Oakley, and Lonnie R. Shelby.

Andrew K. Prinz has received a National Center for Education in Politics fellowship in local government.

The Herbert E. Bolton Prize for 1964 has been presented to Fredrick B. Pike for his book *Chile and the United States, 1880–1962.*

The 1964 Dexter Award of the Division of History of Chemistry of the American Chemical Society was presented to Eduard Farber.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies has announced that Paul Oskar Kristeller has won the citation award and that Kenneth J. Pratt has received the prize award for his essay "Rome as Eternal."

The Society for French Historical Studies awarded the William Koren, Jr.,

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Prize to Leslie Derfler for the most outstanding article on French history published by an American or Canadian in 1963–1964. His article, "Le Cas Millerand: Une nouvelle interprétation," appeared in the *Revue d'histoire moderne*.

J. Rogers Hollingsworth received the John Spencer Basset Memorial Award for his "American Anti-Intellectualism" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXIII [Summer 1964]).

Warren I. Susman received the 1964 American Quarterly Award of the American Studies Association for the best article published in the *American Quarterly* during the year.

Publications

The annual *Austrian History Yearbook* is replacing the mimeographed *Austrian History News Letter*. The *Yearbook*, published by Rice University, began distribution in February of this year.

Other Historical News

The Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America held its second congress at Columbia University in September 1964. Abstracts of the papers presented can be obtained from the society, 2067 Park Road, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20010.

The Lutheran Historical Conference held its second biennial convention at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, October 29–30, 1964.

Recent Deaths

Arnold R. Daum of Loyola University, Chicago, died September 30, 1964, at the age of fifty-five. He received degrees from Northwestern University, George Washington University, and Columbia University; he was the coauthor of a two-volume study on *The American Petroleum Industry* (1959, 1964).

Frank Kalmbach of Wilson, North Carolina, died October 19.

Barbara Jean Fraser of the University of Alberta died November 4, at the age of thirty-three.

James L. Wick died in November.

Harry J. Carman, dean emeritus of Columbia College and professor emeritus of American history, Columbia University, died December 26, after a brief illness.

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Born January 22, 1884, at Greenfield, New York, he was raised in agricultural communities of Saratoga County in an area to which he always remained closely attached and from which he derived much inner strength and personal satisfaction. He attended local schools in Saratoga County and as a very young man taught in them. Subsequently, he went to Syracuse University where he received the Ph.B. (1909) and the M.A. (1914) and where he had his first teaching assignment. He began his instruction at Columbia University in 1917, received his Ph.D. from this institution in 1919, was appointed professor of American history in 1931, and served as dean of Columbia College from 1943 until his retirement in 1950. Professor Carman was a pioneer in general education and particularly in the development of the course in Contemporary Civilization in Columbia College. His scholarly interests were numerous and varied. He was not only one of the first American historians to recognize the importance of social and economic history, but he also made contributions in such areas as historiography, the Civil War, American agriculture, and the history of New York. Among his chief publications were *Jesse Buel, Agricultural Reformer; A History of the American People; Lincoln and the Patronage* (with R. H. Luthin); and *History of the State of New York*.

Professor Carman was active in public affairs, having been a member of the Board of Higher Education of New York City from the administration of Fiorello La Guardia, chairman of the Humanities Division of the John Hay Whitney Foundation, National Representative of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, and trustee of many institutions of higher learning and civic bodies. He was frequently honored, having been the recipient of the Arents Medal from Syracuse University, the Alexander Hamilton Medal and Great Teacher Award from Columbia College, the James Robinson award, and the Medal of the City of New York in recognition of his distinguished educational leadership and public service.

Harry Carman's personal generosity was as boundless as his physical energy; his warm and deep concern for fellow human beings was as unfeigned as his zest for living; his wise counsel on the large as well as the little problems of life was sure and unerring. His capacity for friendship with the great as well as the humble was unique. If he ever misled his colleagues, it was only when he insisted that he was simply "a dirt farmer gone wrong."

George D. Bearce of Bowdoin College died January 18, 1965, at the age of forty-two. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Maine and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin. His interest was in the history of India, and his *British Attitudes toward India, 1784–1858,* won the Association's Watumull Prize in 1962.

Raynor G. Wellington of Belmont, Massachusetts, a member of the Association since 1903 and a life member since 1927, died recently.

Albert L. Demaree of Hanover, New Hampshire, died recently.

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COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I wish to clarify two points in Mrs. Mary R. Dearing's review of my book, *Concepts of Insanity in the United States, 1789–1865* (*AHR*, LXX [Jan. 1965], 477).

First, Mrs. Dearing writes that I begin my study with the career of "Richard Rush," and later she refers again to my evaluation of such "familiar figures as Richard Rush. . . ." Is it possible that Mrs. Dearing has confused Dr. Benjamin Rush, the major figure in early American psychiatry and medicine, whom I did discuss extensively, with his son, Richard Rush, a lawyer and diplomat, whom I did not mention?

Second, I should like to correct the possible impression that I am a psychiatrist; I am, in fact, a historian.

Rutgers University NORMAN DAIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In reviewing Mr. Dain's recent book I intended to refer to the father, Benjamin, not to his son Richard. I very much regret the slip, and can only be thankful that it does not alter the favorable estimate I wished to present of an interesting monograph.

I cannot see how my comments could give the impression, as Mr. Dain fears, that he is not a historian. Certainly there was no doubt in my own mind, since he stated that his book is an outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Richard Hofstadter. The reader of the review will surely assume that a psychiatrist could not justifiably be taken to task, as should a historian, for not giving full treatment to the relationship of his subject to other developments of the period. As a long-time researcher in similar materials, indeed, I was happy to see the publication of a competently executed *historical* study of sources which until recent years have been handled mainly by psychiatrists. I regretted only that the book's brevity precluded the kind of comprehensive treatment that John Burnham, for example, achieved in his exhaustive MS study of the early impact of Freudian concepts in the United States.

Montgomery Junior College MARY R. DEARING

EDITOR'S NOTE

It will be helpful to the Editor if prospective reviewers, before agreeing to evaluate a book, let him know when they have already reviewed it or have agreed to do so for another publication. There will occasionally be good reason to have a specialist assess a work for two widely separated groups of readers. In general, however, the Editor considers it axiomatic that the same person should not review the same book for two historical periodicals, certainly not for two widely circulated ones.

HENRY R. WINKLER

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MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 12,500. Members elect the officers by ballot.

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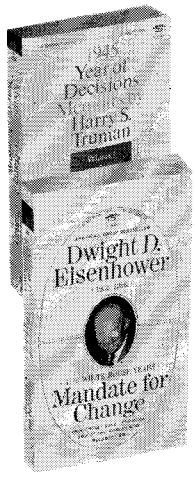
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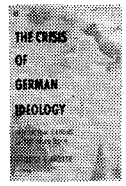
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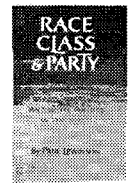
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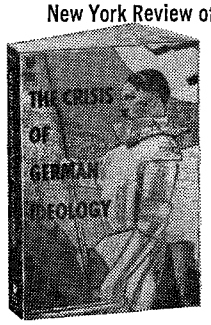
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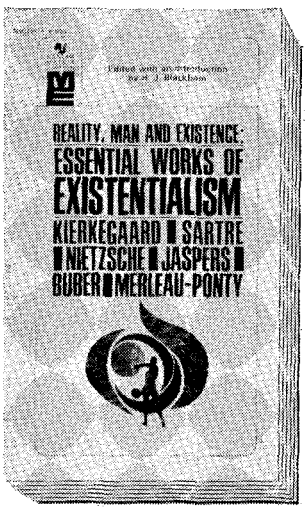
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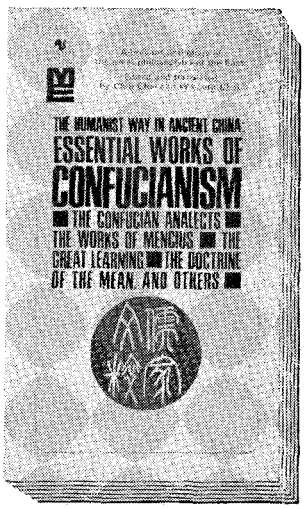
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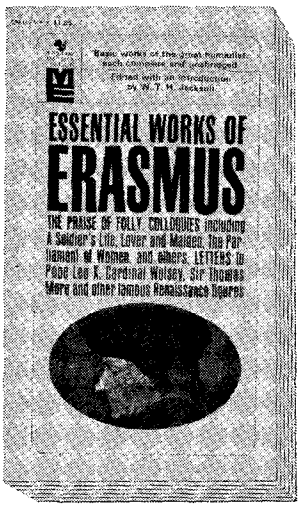
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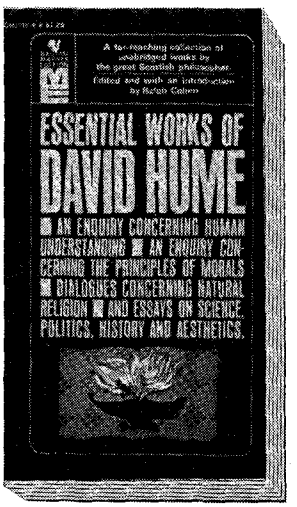
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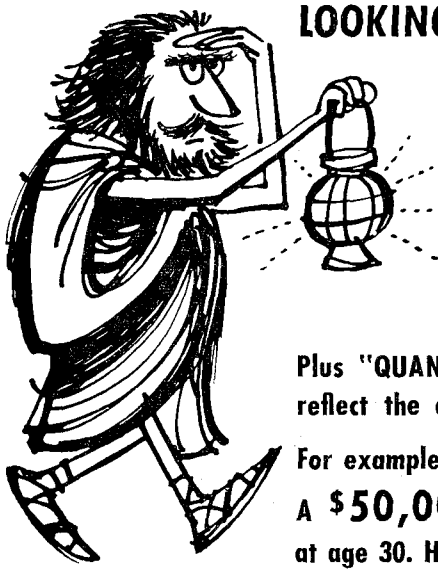
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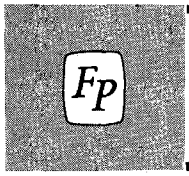


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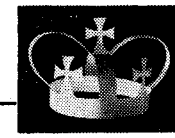
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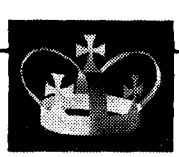
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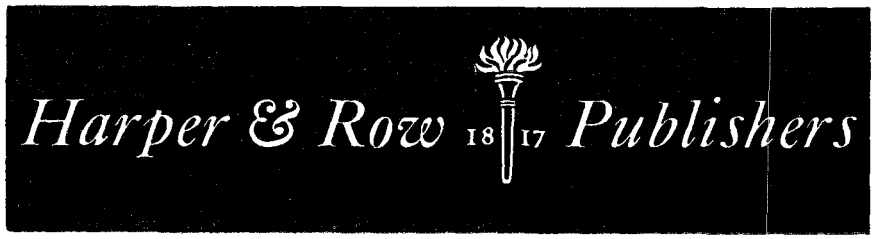
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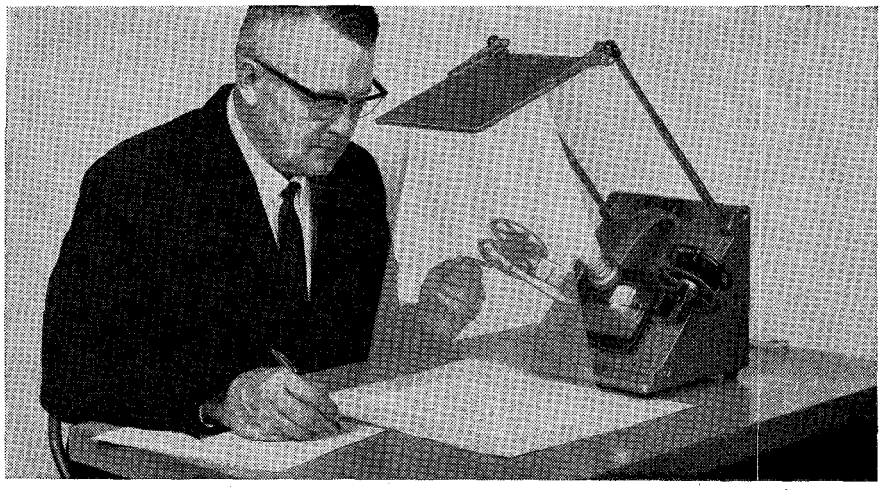
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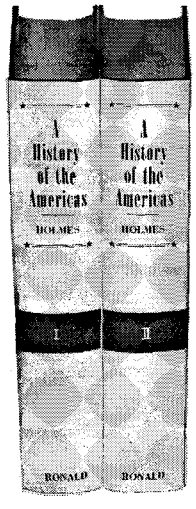
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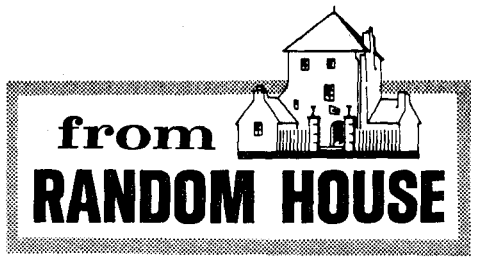
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